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WESTMINSTER ABBEY

III.

BEFORE AND SINCE THE REFORMATION



THE NAVE.

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS

IN THE POSSESSION OF

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

BY JOHN G. CAMPBELL

OF THE BISHOPRIC OF DUNDEE

WITH PLATES

VOLUME I.

PERMANENTLY IN THE POSSESSION OF

BY

NEW YORK

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HISTORICAL MEMORIALS

OF

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

BY
 ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D.
 Late Dean of Westminster
 CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE

*FIRST AMERICAN FROM THE SIXTH LONDON EDITION
 WITH THE AUTHOR'S FINAL REVISIONS*

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THE ABBEY BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

THE approach to the Abbey through these gloomy monastic remains prepares the mind for its solemn contemplation. The Cloisters still retain something of the quiet and seclusion of former days. The gray walls are discoloured by damp, and crumbling with age: a coat of hoary moss has gathered over the inscriptions of the several monuments, and obscured the death's heads and other funereal emblems. The sharp touches of the chisel are gone from the rich tracery of the arches. The roses which adorned the keystones have lost their leafy beauty: everything bears marks of the gradual dilapidation of time, which yet has something touching and pleasing in its very decay. The sun was pouring down a yellow autumnal ray into the square of the Cloisters, beaming upon a scanty plot of grass in the centre, and lighting up an angle of the vaulted passage with a kind of dusky splendour. From between the arches the eye glanced up to a bit of blue sky or a passing cloud, and beheld the sun-gilt pinnacles of the Abbey towering into the azure heaven. — WASHINGTON IRVING'S *Sketch Book*, i. 399.

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

THE special authorities for this chapter are : —

- I. Flete's *History of the Monastery, from its Foundation to A. D. 1386*. MS. in the Chapter Library, of which a modern transcript exists in the Lambeth Library.
- II. The fourth part of the *Consuetudines* of Abbot Ware (1258–1283), amongst the MSS. in the Cotton Library. It has evidently been much used by Dart in his *Antiquities of Westminster*. But since that time it was much injured in the fire of 1731, which damaged the Library in the Westminster Cloisters (see Chapter VI.), and was long thought to be illegible. Within the last two years, however, it has in great part been deciphered, by an ingenious chemical process, at the expense of the Dean and Chapter, and a transcript deposited in the Chapter Library. In the use made of it I have derived much assistance from the classification of its contents by Mr. Gilbert Scott, jun., and the comments upon it by Mr. Ashpitel.
- III. *Cartulary of the Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster*, of which an abstract was printed for private circulation by Mr. Samuel Bentley, 1836, the original being in the possession of Sir Charles Young, to whose kindness I owe the use made of it.
- IV. Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster* (1849).
- V. *Westminster Improvements: a brief Account of Ancient and Modern Westminster*, by One of the Architects of the Westminster Improvement Company (William Bardwell). 1839.

For the general arrangements of an English Benedictine Monastery, I am glad to be able to refer my readers to the long-expected account of the best preserved and best explained of the whole class, — the description of the Monastery of Canterbury Cathedral by Professor Willis in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. vii. pp. 1–206.

CHAPTER V.

THE ABBEY BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

WE have hitherto considered the Abbey in reference to the general history of the country. It now remains to track its connection with the ecclesiastical establishment of which it formed a part, and which, in its turn, has peculiar points of contact with the outer world. This inquiry naturally divides itself into the periods before and after the Reformation, though it will be impossible to keep the two entirely distinct. There is, however, one peculiarity which belongs almost equally to both, and constitutes the main distinction both of the 'Monastery' ^{The Monastery.} ¹ of the west' from other Benedictine establishments, and of the 'Collegiate Church' of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster from cathedrals in general.

The Monastery and Church of Westminster were, as we have seen,² enclosed within the precincts of the Palace of Westminster as completely as the Abbey of Holyrood³ and the Convent of the Escorial were united with those palaces of ^{Its connection with the Palace.}

¹ The independence of the Monastery from episcopal jurisdiction is of course common to all other great monastic bodies, and forms a part of the vast 'Presbyterian' government, which, before the Reformation, flourished side by side with Episcopacy. What I have here had to trace is its peculiar form in Westminster.

² See Chapter I.

³ This was true even when Holyrood was on the site of the Castle rock, of which a trace remains in the fact that the Castle is still a part of the parish of Canongate. (Joseph Robertson.)

the Scottish and Spanish sovereigns. The Abbey was, in fact, a Royal Chapel¹ on a gigantic scale. The King had a private entrance to it through the South Transept, almost direct from the Confessor's Hall,² as well as a cloister communicating with the great entrance for State processions³ in the North Transept. Even to this day, in official language, the coronations are said to take place in 'Our Palace at Westminster,'⁴ though the Sovereign never sets foot in the Palace strictly so called, and the whole ceremony is confined to the Abbey, which for the time passes entirely into the possession of the Crown and its officers.

From this peculiar connection of the Abbey with the Palace — of which many traces will appear as we proceed — arose the independence of its ecclesiastical constitution and its dignitaries from all other authority within the kingdom. Even in secular matters, it was made the centre of a separate jurisdiction in the adjacent neighbourhood. Very early in its history, Henry III. pitted the forces of Westminster against the powerful citizens of London.⁵ Some of its privileges at the instance of the Londoners⁶ were removed by Edward I. But whatever show of independence the City of Westminster still possesses, it owes to a reminiscence of the ancient grandeur of its Abbey. So completely was the Monastery held to stand apart

Its inde-
pendence.

¹ '*Capella nostra*,' '*peculiaris capella pallatii nostri principalis*,' is Edward III.'s description of the Abbey. (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 312.)

² See Chapter III. *Gent. Mag.* [1828], pt. i. p. 421. — Fires in the Palace are described as reaching the Monastery. (Archives, A. D. 1334; Matt. Paris, A. D. 1269.)

³ *Westminster Improvements*, 14.

⁴ See *London Gazettes* of 1838.

⁵ Matt. Paris, A. D. 1250. '*Utinam non in aliorum lesionem*,' is an annotation by some jealous hand.

⁶ Ridgway, pp. 52, 207; Rishanger, A. D. 1277.

from the adjacent metropolis, that a journey of the monastic officers to London, and even to the manor of Paddington, is described as an excursion which is not to be allowed without express permission.¹ The Dean is still the shadowy head of a shadowy corporation: and on the rare occasions of pageants which traverse the whole metropolis, the Dean, with his High Steward and High Bailiff, succeeds to the Lord Mayor at Temple Bar.² In former times, down to the close of the last century, the Dean possessed, by virtue of this position, considerable power in controlling the elections, even then stormy, of the important constituency of Westminster.

In like manner the See of London, whilst it stretches on every side, has never³ but once penetrated the precincts of Westminster. The Dean, as the Abbot before him, still remains supreme under the Crown. The legend of the visit of St. Peter to the fisherman had for one express object the protection of the Abbey against the intrusion of the Bishop of London.⁴ 'From that time there was no King so undevout that durst it violate, or so holy a Bishop that durst it consecrate.'⁵ The claims to be founded on the ruins of a Temple of Apollo, and by King Sebert, have the suspicious ap-

¹ Ware, 170.

² As in the reception of the Princess Alexandra in 1862. It was usual, down to the seventeenth century, for the Lord Mayors of London, after they had been sworn into office in Westminster Hall, to come to the Abbey, and offer up their devotions in Henry VII's Chapel. (Widmore, p. 161.) It is probably a relic of this which exists in the payment for 'the Lord Mayor's Candle' in the Abbey.

³ There was an attempt made in 1845, under the energetic episcopate of Bishop Blomfield, to include the Abbey in the diocese of London, but it was foiled by the vigilance of Bishop Wilberforce, who, for that one year, occupied the Deanery of Westminster.

⁴ See Chapter L, pp. 11, 24.

⁵ More's *Life of Richard III.* 177.

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pearance of being stories intended to counteract the claims of St. Paul's Cathedral to the Temple of Diana, and of its claim to that royal patronage.¹ Even the haughty Dunstan was pressed into the service, and was made, in a spurious charter, to have relinquished his rights as Bishop of London. The exemption was finally determined in the trial between Abbot Humez and Bishop Fauconberg, in the thirteenth century, when it was decided in favour of the Abbey by a court of referees; whilst the manor of Sudbury was given as a compensation to the Bishop, and the church of Sudbury to St. Paul's Cathedral.² An Archdeacon of Westminster, who is still elected by the Chapter, exercised, under them for many years, an archidiaconal jurisdiction³ in the Consistory Court under the South-western Tower. In the sacred services of the Abbey neither Archbishop nor Bishop, except in the one incommunicable rite of Coronation, was allowed to take part without the permission of the Abbot, as now of the Dean. When Archbishop Turbine consecrated Bernard Bishop of St. David's, that Queen Maud might see it, probably in St. Catherine's Chapel, it was with the special concession of the Abbot.⁴ When the Bishop of Lincoln presided at the funeral of Eleanor, it was because the Abbot (Wenlock) had quarrelled with Archbishop Peckham.⁵ From the time of Elizabeth, the privilege of burying great personages has been entirely confined to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. From the first occasion of the assembling of the Convocation of

¹ Wharton, *Ep. Lond.* p. 247.

² *Ibid.* p. 29; Widmore, p. 38. For the privileges in detail, see Flete, c. ii. xii.

³ Wills were proved there till 1674.

⁴ Eadmer, p. 116.

⁵ Ridgway, pp. 103, 104; Wykes.

the Province of Canterbury within the precincts of Westminster, down to the present day, the Archbishop has always been met by a protest, as from the Abbot so from the Dean, against any infringement of the privileges of the Abbey.

The early beginnings of the Monastery have been already traced. Its distinct history first appears after the Conquest, and is concentrated almost entirely in the Abbots. As in all greater convents, the Abbots were personages of nearly episcopal ^{THE} ~~ABBOTS.~~ magnitude, and in Westminster their peculiar relation to the Crown added to their privileges. The Abbots since the Conquest, according to the Charter of the Confessor, were, with two exceptions (Humez and Boston), all chosen from the Convent itself. They ranked, in dignity, next after the Abbots of St. Albans.¹ A royal licence was always required for their election,² as well as for their entrance into possession. The election itself required a confirmation, obtained in person from the Pope, who, however, sometimes deputed the duty of installation to a Bishop. On their accession they dropped their own surnames, and took the names of their birthplaces, as if by a kind of peerage. They were known, like sovereigns, by their Christian names — as ‘Richard the First,’ or ‘Richard the Second’³ — and signed themselves as ruling over their communities ‘by the grace of God.’ They were to be honoured as ‘Vicars of Christ.’ When the Abbot passed, every one was to rise. To him alone the monks confessed.⁴ A

¹ For the whole question of precedence, as between the Abbot of St. Albans, the Abbot of Westminster, and the Prior of Canterbury Cathedral, see Mr. Riley’s preface to Walsingham’s *Chronicles of the Abbots of St. Albans*, vol. iii. pp. lxxii.–lxxv.

² Ware.

³ Ibid. p. 403.

⁴ Archives of St. Paul’s, A. D. 1261.

solemn benediction answered in his case to an episcopal consecration. If, after his election, he died before receiving this, he was to be buried like any other monk; but otherwise, his funeral was to be on the most sumptuous scale, and the anniversary of his death to be always celebrated.¹

Edwin, the first Abbot of whom anything is known, was probably, through his friendship with the Confessor, the secret founder of the Abbey itself.

Edwin,
1049-68.

He, though as long as he lived he faithfully visited the tomb of his friend, accommodated himself with wonderful facility to the Norman Conqueror, and in that facility laid the foundation of the most regal residence in England. Amongst the Confessor's donations to Westminster, there was one on which the Conqueror set his affections, for his retreat for hunting, 'by reason of the pureness of the air, the pleasantness of the situation, and its neighbourhood to wood and waters.' It was the estate of 'the winding' of the Thames — 'Windsor.'² This the Abbot conceded to the King, and received in return some lands in Essex, and a mill at Stratford; in recollection of which the inhabitants of Stepney, Whitechapel, and Stratford used to come to the Abbey at Whitsuntide;³ and two bucks from the forest of Windsor were always sent to the Abbot on the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula.⁴

¹ Ware, p. 10. — The MS. is here very imperfect; but for the funerals see the Islip Roll, and for the general privileges, see *Chronicle of Abingdon*, ii. 336-350.

² Neale, i. 29. Windles-ore, not the 'winding-shore,' as is generally said; but, as I have been informed by a learned Scandinavian scholar, 'the winding sandbank,' or 'the sandpit in a winding,' as in Helsingor (Elsinore).

³ Akermann, i. 74.

⁴ Cartulary; Dugdale, i. 310.

Edwin was first buried in the Cloister; afterwards, as we shall see, in the Chapter House.

To Edwin succeeded a series of Norman Abbots — Geoffrey, Vitalis, Gislebert, Herbert, and Gervase, a natural son of King Stephen. Geoffrey was desposed, and retired to his original Abbey of Jumièges, where he was buried. In Vitalis's time the first History of the Abbey was written by one of his monks, Sulcard. Gislebert was the author of various scholastic treatises, still preserved in the manuscripts of the Cottonian Library.¹ Then followed Laurence, who procured from the Pope the Canonisation of the Confessor, and with it the exaltation of himself and his successors to the rank of mitred Abbot.

Down to the time of Henry III. the Abbots had been buried in the eastern end of the South Cloister. Three gravestones still remain, with the rude effigies of these as yet unmitred dignitaries.² But afterwards — it may be from the increasing importance of the Abbots — the Cloisters were left to the humbler denizens of the Monastery. Abbot Papillon, though degraded from his office nine years before, was buried in the Nave. Abbot Berking was buried in a marble tomb

Geoffrey,
1068-74.
Vitalis,
1076-82.
Gislebert,
Crispin,
1082-1114.
Herbert,
1121-40.
Gervase,
1140-60.
Laurence,
1160-76.
Walter,
1176-91.
Postard,
1191-1200.

Papillon,
1200-14,
died 1222.
Humex,
1214-22.
Berking,
1222-46.
Crokesley,
1246-58.

¹ Neale, i. 32.

² Fleete MS. — The names of the Abbots were inscribed in modern times, but all wrongly. That, for example, of Gervase, who was buried under a small slab, was written on the largest gravestone in the Cloisters. The real order appears to have been this, beginning from the eastern corner of the South Cloister: Postard in front of the dinner-bell; Crispin and Herbert under the second bench from the bell; Vitalis (under a small slab) and Gislebert (with an effigy) at the foot of Gervase (under a small stone); Humex (with an effigy) at the head of Gervase. The dinner-bell probably was hung in what was afterwards known as Littleington's Belfry.

10 THE ABBEY BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

before the High Altar in the Lady Chapel,¹ then just begun at his instigation. Crokesley, who succeeded, had been the first Archdeacon of Westminster, and in his time the Abbey was exempted from all jurisdiction of the See of London. He lived in an alternation of royal shade and sunshine — sometimes causing the King to curse him and declare, 'It repenteth me that I have made the man ;'² and send criers up and down the streets of London warning every one against him ; sometimes, by undue concessions to him, enraging the other convents, almost always at war with his own. He was buried first in a small Chapel of St. Edmund near the North Porch, and afterwards removed to St. Nicholas's Chapel, and finally, in Henry VI.'s time, to some other place not mentioned.³

The exemption from the jurisdiction of the See of London led to one awkward result. It placed the Abbey in immediate dependence on the Papal See, and the Abbots accordingly (till a commutation and compensation was made in the time of Edward IV.) were

¹ It was removed when Henry VII.'s Chapel was built, and his grave is now at the steps leading to it. The grey stone and brass were visible till late in the last century. (Crull, p. 117 ; Seymour's *Stow*, ii. 613.)

² *Matt. Paris*, 706, 726.

³ *Flete*. On July 12, 1866, in making preparations for a new Reredos, the workmen came upon a marble coffin under the High Altar. Fragments of a crosier in wood and ivory, and of a leaden paten and chalice, prove the body to be that of an Abbot ; whilst the absence of any record of an interment on that spot, and the fact that the coffin was without a lid, and that the bones had been turned over, show that this was not the original grave. These indications point to Crokesley. From a careful examination of the bones, he appears to have been a personage of tall stature, slightly halting on one leg, with a strong projecting brow ; and the knotted protuberances in the spine imply that he had suffered much from chronic rheumatism. See a complete account of the whole, by Mr. Scharf, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, vol. iii., No. 5, pp. 354-357.

obliged to travel to Rome for their confirmation, and even to visit it once every two years. The inconvenience was instantly felt, for Crokesley's successor, Peter of Lewisham, was too fat to move, and before the matter could be settled he died. The journey, however, was carried out by the next Abbot, Richard de Ware, and with material results, which are visible to this day. On his second journey, in 1267, he brought back with him the mosaic pavement — such as he must have seen freshly laid down in the Church of San Lorenzo — to adorn the Choir of the Church, then just completed by the King. It remains in front of the Altar, with an inscription, in part still decipherable, recording the date of its arrival, the name of the workman who put it together (Oderic), the 'City' from whence it came, and the name of himself the donor. He was buried underneath it,¹ on the north side. As in the history of England at large, the reign of Henry III. was an epoch fruitful of change, so also was it in the internal regulations of the Abbey. To us the thirteenth century seems sufficiently remote. But, at the time, everything seemed 'of modern use,' so startling were the 'innovations' begun by Abbot Berking, when compared with the ancient practices of the first Norman Abbots, 'Gislebert,' and his brethren 'of venerable memory.'² To Abbot Ware, accordingly, was due the compilation of the new Code of the Monastery, known as his *Consuetudines* or 'Customs.' Opposite to Ware, on the south side, lies Abbot Wenlock who lived to see the completion of the work of Henry III., and who shared in the disgrace (shortly

Lewisham,
1258.

Ware,
1258-64.

Mosaic
brought
from Rome
in 1267.

Wenlock,
1264-1302.

¹ His stone coffin was seen there in 1866.

² Ware, pp. 257, 258, 261, 264, 291, 319, 344, 359, 495, 500.

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to be told) of the robbery of the Royal Treasury.

Kydyngton, 1806-1815.
Curtlington, 1815-1884. The profligate manners of the reign of Edward II. were reflected in the scandalous election of Kydyngton,¹ ultimately secured by the influ-

ence of Piers Gaveston with the King. He was succeeded by Curtlington, who was a rare instance of the unanimous election of an Abbot by Pope, King,

Henley, 1384-44. and Convent. His grave began the interments in the Chapel of the patron saint of

their order — St. Benedict. But his successor, Henley, lies under the lower pavement of the Sacrarium, opposite Kydyngton. Then occurs the one exception of a return to the Cloister. The Black Death fell heavily on Westminster. The jewels of the convent² had to

Byrcheston, 1844-1849. be sold apparently to defray the expenses.

The Black Death of 1348. Abbot Byrcheston and twenty-six monks were its victims. He was buried in the Eastern Cloister, which he had built; and they probably³ lie beneath the huge slab in the Southern Cloister, which has for many years borne the false name of 'Gervase,' or more popularly 'Long Meg.' If this be so, that vast stone is the footmark left in the Abbey by the greatest plague that ever visited Europe.

Langham lies by the side of Curtlington.

Simon Langham, 1349-62; died 1376; Bishop of Ely, 1369-86; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1366-69; Cardinal, 1368; The only Abbot of Westminster who rose to the rank of Cardinal, and to the See of Canterbury, and whose departure from each successive office (from Westminster to Ely, and from Ely to Canterbury) was hailed with joy by those whom he left, and with dread by those

¹ He was buried before the altar, under the southern part of the lower pavement where the Easter candle stood, with a figure in brass. (Flete.)

² Cartulary, 1349.

³ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 114.

whom he joined—is also the first in whom, as far as we know, a strong local affection for Westminster had an opportunity of showing itself. His stern and frugal administration in Westminster, if it provoked some enmity from the older monks, won for him the honour of being a second founder of the monastery. To the Abbey, where he had been both Prior and Abbot, his heart always turned. The Nave, where his father was buried, had a special hold upon him, and through his means it first advanced towards completion.¹ In the Chapel of St. Nicholas he was confirmed in the Archbishopric; and to the Chapel of St. Benedict, at the close of his many changes, he begged to be brought back from the distant Avignon, where he died, and was there laid under the first and grandest ecclesiastical tomb that the Abbey contains. Originally² a statue of Mary Magdalene guarded his feet. He had died on the eve of her feast. It was from the enormous bequest which he left, amounting in our reckoning to £200,000, that his successor, Nicholas Littleington, rebuilt or built the Abbot's house (the present Deanery, where his head appears over the entrance), part of the Northern and the whole of the Southern and Western Cloisters (where his initials are still³ visible), and many other parts of the conventual buildings⁴ since perished. In Littleington's mode of making his bargains⁵ for these works he was somewhat unscrupulous. But he was long remembered by his bequests. In the Refectory, to which he left silver vessels, a prayer for his soul

Lord High
Treasurer,
1361-68;
Lord
Chancellor,
1363-67.

Continuation of the
Nave.

Littleington,
1362; died
Nov. 29,
1366.

His buildings.

¹ *Gleanings*, 53.

² Cartulary.

³ *Gleanings*, 210.

⁴ The stone came from the quarries of Reigate. (Archives.)

⁵ Cartulary.

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was always repeated immediately after grace.¹ Of his legacies to the Chapter Library, one magnificent remnant exists in the Littleington Missal, still preserved. He died on St. Andrew's² Eve, 'at dinner time,' at his manor of Neate, and was buried before the altar of St. Blaize's Chapel.

We trace the history of the next Abbots in the Northern Chapels. In that of St. John the Baptist was laid the 'grand conspirator,'³ William of Colchester, who was sent by Henry IV., with sixty horsemen to the Council of Constance,⁴ and died twenty years after Shakespeare reports him to have been hanged for his treason; Kyrton lies in the Chapel of St. Andrew, which he adorned for himself, as his family had adorned the adjoining altar of St. Michael;⁵ Milling — raised by Edward IV. to the See of Hereford, but returning to his old haunts to be buried⁶ — and Esteney,⁷ the successive guardians of Elizabeth Woodville and her royal children, in the Chapel

Colchester,
1386-1420.
Hawerden,
1420-40.
Kyrton,
1440-66.
Norwich,
1466-69.

Thomas
Milling,
1469-74;
died 1492.
Esteney,
1474-98.
Fascet,
1498-1500.

¹ Cartulary.

² Esteney's *Niger Quaternar*. p. 86.

³ Widmore, p. 102; Shakespeare's *Richard II.* Act v. sc. 6. The Prior of Westminster had already had a vision of the fall of Richard II. (*French Chronicle of Richard II.* 139-224.)

⁴ Widmore, p. 111; Rymer, v. 95. William of Colchester succeeded for the time in establishing his precedence over the Abbot of St. Albans: and it has been conjectured that this was the occasion of the portrait of Richard II. (Riley's Preface to Walsingham's *Abbots of St. Albans*, iii. p. lxxv.)

⁵ Cartulary. See Appendix.

⁶ Milling's coffin was moved from the centre of the Chapel to make room for the Earl of Essex's grave (see Chapter IV.), to its present place on the top of Fascet's tomb. In 1711 it was erroneously called Humphrey de Bohun's. (Crull, p. 148.)

⁷ Esteney lay at the entrance of the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, behind an elaborate screen. The body was twice displaced — in 1706 (when it was seen) and in 1778, when the tomb was demolished for the erection of Wolfe's monument. (Neale, ii. 195.) The fragments were reunited in 1866.

of St. John the Evangelist. During this time Flete, the Prior of the Monastery, wrote its meagre history.¹ Fascet, the Abbot who saw the close of the fifteenth century, was interred in a solitary tomb in St. Paul's Chapel.² Finally Islip, who had witnessed the completion of the east end of the Abbey by the building of Henry VII.'s Chapel, himself built the Western Towers as high as the roof, filled the vacant niches outside with the statues of the Sovereigns, and erected the apartments and the gallery against the south side of the Abbey by which the Abbot could enter and overlook the Nave. The larger part of the Deanery buildings subsequent to Abbot Littleington seem in fact to have been erected in his time. He had intended to attempt a Belfry Tower over the central lantern.³ In the elaborate representation which has been preserved of his obsequies,⁴ we seem to be following to their end the funeral of the Middle Ages. We see him standing amidst the 'slips' or branches of the bower of moral virtues, which, according to the fashion of the fifteenth century, indicate his name; with the words, significant of his character,⁵ 'Seek peace and pursue it.' We see him, as he last appeared in state at the Coronation of Henry VIII., assisting Warham in the act, so fraught with consequences for all the future

Islip, 1500-
52, died
May 12
Islip's
buildings.

The Islip
Roll.

¹ The graves of Hawerden and Norwich are not known.

² So at least it would seem. The tomb was subsequently moved to make way for Sir J. Puckering's monument, and placed in the entrance to St. John Baptist's Chapel.

³ Dart, ii. 34.

⁴ See the Islip Roll, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries; in *Vestusta Monumenta*, vol. iv. 16-20; and Widmore, p. 206. The plate left by him remained till 1540 (Inventory).

⁵ 'A good old father.' Henry VIII. (*State Papers*, vii. 30.)

history of the English Church — amidst the works of the Abbey, which he is carrying on with all the energy of his individual character and with the strange exorcisms of the age which was drawing to its close. We see him on his deathbed, in the old manor-house of Neate, surrounded by the priests and saints of the ancient Church; the Virgin standing at his feet, and imploring her Son's assistance to John Islip — '*Islip, O Fili veniens, succurre Johanni!*' — the Abbot of Bury administering the last sacraments. We see his splendid 'hearse,' amidst a forest of candles, before the High Altar, with its screen, for the last time filled with images, and surmounted by the crucifix with its attendant saints. We see him, as his effigy lay under the tomb in the little chapel which he had built,¹ like a king, for himself, recumbent in solitary state — the only Abbot who achieved that honour. The last efflorescence of monastic architecture coincided with its imminent downfall; and as we thus watch the funeral of Islip, we feel the same unconsciousness of the coming changes as breathes through so many words and deeds and constructions on the eve of the Reformation.

Such were the Abbots of Westminster. It seems ungrateful to observe, what is yet the fact, that in all their line there is not one who can aspire to higher historical honour than that of a munificent builder and able administrator: Gislebert alone left theological treatises famous in their day. And if from the Abbots

The Monks. we descend to the monks, their names are still more obscure. Here and there we catch a trace of their burials. Amundisham, in the fifteenth century, Thomas Brown, Humphrey Roberts,² and John

¹ This chapel, which consists of an upper and lower story, was called the Jesus Chapel.

² Crull, p. 211.

Selby¹ of Northumberland (known as a civilian), in the sixteenth century, are interred near St. Paul's Chapel; Vertue in the Western Cloister.² Five of them — Sulcard, John of Reading, Flete the Prior, Richard of Cirencester,³ and (on a somewhat larger scale) the so-called Matthew⁴ of Westminster — have slightly contributed to our historical knowledge of the times. Some of them were skilled as painters.⁵ In Abbot Littleington's time, a gigantic brother, whose calves and thighs were the wonder of all England, of the name of John of Canterbury, emerges into view for a moment, having engaged to accompany the aged Abbot to the sea-coast, to meet a threatened French invasion which never took place. They obtained the special permission of the Chapter to go and fight for their country. When his armour was sold in London, 'no person could be found of a size that it would fit,⁶ of such a height and breadth was the said John.' There are two, in whose case we catch a glimpse into the motives which brought them thither. Owen, third son of Owen Tudor, and uncle of Henry VII., escaped from the troubles of his family into monastic life, and lies in the South Transept in the Chapel of St. Blaize.⁷ Another was Sir John Stanley, natural son of James Stanley, Bishop of Ely — the unworthy stepson of Margaret of Richmond. A dispute with his Cheshire neighbours had brought him under Wolsey's anger; he was imprisoned in the Fleet; and

¹ Weever, p. 265.

² See Chapter IV.

³ Seymour's *Slow*, ii. 607.

⁴ 'Matthew of Westminster's' Chronicle is made up of the chronicle of *Matthew Paris* (whence the name), of St. Albans, and a continuation of it from 1265 to 1325, by John Bevere, otherwise John of London, a monk of Westminster. (Madden's Preface to *Matthew Paris*, vol. i. pp. xxv. xxvi.)

⁵ Cartulary.

⁶ *Ibid.* A. D. 1286.

⁷ Sandford, p. 293.

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after his release, 'upon displeasure taken in his heart, he made himself a monk in Westminster, and there died.'¹ The deed still remains² in which, for this purpose, he solemnly affirmed his separation from his wife.

The insignificance or the inactivity of this great community, without any supposition of enormous vices, explains the easy fall of the monasteries when the hour of their dissolution arrived. The garrulous reminiscences which the Sacristan in Scott's 'Monastery,' retains of the Abbot 'of venerable memory,' exactly reproduce the constant allusion in the thirteenth century which we find in the 'Customs of Abbot Ware.' The very designation used for them is the same; their deeds moved in exactly the same homely sphere. The trivial matters which engross the attention of Abbot Ware or Prior Flete will recall, to any one who has ever visited the sacred peninsula of Mount Athos, the disputes concerning property and jurisdiction which occupy the whole thought of those ancient communities. The Benedictine Convent of Monte Cassino has been recently saved by the intervention of the public opinion of Europe, because it furnished a bright exception to the general tenor of monastic life. Those who have witnessed the last days of Vallombrosa must confess with a sigh that, like the ancient Abbey of Westminster, its inmates had contributed nothing to the general intelligence of Christendom.

It is to the buildings and institutions of the monastery that the interest of its mediæval history attaches; and these, therefore, it must be our endeavour to recall

¹ Herbert's *Henry VIII.*, p. 300.

² The whole story, with the documents, is given in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xcvii. pp. 72-84.

from the dead past. It would be wandering too far from the Abbey itself to give an account of the vast possessions scattered not only over ^{The monastic estates.} the whole of the present city of Westminster, from the Thames to Kensington, or from Vauxhall Bridge to Temple Bar, but through 97 towns and villages, 17 hamlets, and 216 manors,¹ some of which have still remained as the property of the Chapter. It is enough to recall the vast group of buildings which rose round the Abbey, as it stood isolated from the rest of the metropolis, like St. Germain des Près at Paris, 'the Abbey of the Meadows,' in its almost rural repose.

On this seclusion of the monastic precincts the mighty city had, even into the beginning of the sixteenth century, but very slightly encroached. Their southern boundary was the stream which ran ^{Possessions on the north-west of Westminster.} down what is now College Street, then 'the dead wall'² of the gardens behind, and was crossed by a bridge, still existing, though deep beneath the present³ pavement, at the east end of College Street. Close to it was the southern gateway into the monastery. The Abbots used to take boat on this stream to go to the Thames,⁴ but the property and the grounds extended far beyond. The Abbot's Mill stood on the ^{The Mill.} farther bank of the brook, called the Mill Ditch, as the bank itself was called *Mill-bank*. In the adjacent fields were the Orchard, ^{The Orchard, Vineyard, Bowling Alley, and Gardens.} the Vineyard, and the Bowling Alley, which have left their traces in *Orchard Street*, *Vine Street*,

¹ *Westminster Improvements*, 11. See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 297-307.

² *Gleanings*, p. 229; see *Gent. Mag.* 1836.—The wall was pulled down in 1776.

³ *Westminster Improvements*, p. 8.

⁴ Archives; Parcel 31, Item 16. There was a large pond close by.

and *Bowling Street*.¹ Farther still were the Abbot's Gardens and the Monastery Gardens, reaching down to the river, and known by the name of the *Minster Gardens*, which gradually faded away into the *Monster Tea-gardens*.² Two bridges marked the course of the Eye or Tyburn across the fields to the north-west. One was the Eye Bridge, near the Eye Cross, in the island³ or field or 'village of Eye' (Ey-bury);

*The Pass of
the Knights'
Bridge.*

another was a stone bridge, which was regarded as a military pass,⁴ against the robbers who infested the deep morass and which is now Bel-

*Tothill
Fields.*

gravia. Further south was the desolate heath of Tothill Fields. The name is derived from a high hill,⁵ probably, as the word implies, a beacon, which was levelled in the seventeenth century. At its foot was Bulinga Fen — the 'Smithfield' of Western London — which witnessed the burnings of witches, tournaments, judicial combats, fairs, bear-gardens, and the interment of those who had been stricken by the plague.⁶ In one of its streams the ducks disported themselves, which gave their name to *Duck Lane*,⁷ now swept away by Victoria Street. Another formed the boundary between the parishes of St. Margaret and St.

¹ *Gleanings*, p. 239.

² *Ibid.* p. 229.

³ All these names are collected in the 'Cartulary.'

⁴ Hence 'Knightsbridge,' either from Sir H. Knyvet, Knight, who there valiantly defended himself, there being assaulted, 'and slew the master-thief with his own hands.' (Walcott, p. 300.) Or, as Dean Milman reports the tradition, from the knights who there met the Abbot returning from his progresses with heavy money bags, and escorted him through the dangerous jungle; or 'Kingsbridge,' which, after all, appears to be the earlier name (see Dare's *Memorials of Knightsbridge*, p. 4), from Edward the Confessor.

⁵ See the petition of the inhabitants of Westminster in 1698, in the City Archives, given, with notes, by Mr. Burt in the *Archæological Journal*, No. 114, p. 141.

⁶ Walcott, p. 325.

⁷ *Archæological Journal*, p. 284.

John.¹ A shaggy pool deep enough to drown a horse has gradually dwindled away into a small puddle and a vast sewer, now called the *King's Scholars' Pond* and the *King's Scholars' Pond Sewer*. Water was conveyed to the Convent in leaden pipes, used until 1861, from a spring² in the Convent's manor of Hyde (now Hyde Manor. Neate Manor. Hyde Park). The manor of Neate,³ by the river-side in Chelsea, was a favourite country-seat of the Abbots.⁴ There Littlington and Islip died.

On the north-east, separated from the Abbey by the long reach of meadows, in which stood the country village of Charing, was another enclosure, Possessions on the north-east. known by the name of the Convent Garden — or rather, in Norman-French, the *Couvent* Garden, whence the present form, *Covent* Garden — with its grove of *Elms* and pastures of *Long Acre*, and Covent Garden. of the *Seven Acres*.⁵ For the convenience of the conventual officers going from Westminster to this garden, a solitary oratory or chapel was erected on the adjacent fields, dedicated to St. Martin.⁶ This was 'St. Martin-in-the-Fields.' The Abbot had a special

¹ *Westminster Improvements*, 18.

² The water supply continued till 1861, when it was cut off by the railways. An old stone house over the spring bore the arms of Westminster till 1868, when it was supplanted by a lesser structure with a short inscription.

³ Cunningham's *London*. (The *Neate Houses*.) John of Gaunt borrowed it from the Abbot for his residence during Parliament (see *Archæological Journal*, No. 114, p. 144).

⁴ Hyde and Neate were exchanged with Henry VIII for Hurley. (Dugdale, i. 282.) But the springs in 'Crossley's field' were specially reserved for the Abbey by the Charter of Elizabeth in 1560, and a conduit-house built over them, which remained till 1868. The water was supposed to be a special preservative against the Plague. (State Papers, May 22, 1631.)

⁵ Brayley's *Londiniana*, iv. 207.

⁶ *Gent. Mag.* [1826], part i. p. 30.

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garden on the banks of the river, just where the precincts of the city of Westminster succeeded to those of London, opposite to the town residences of the bishops of Carlisle and Durham, near the church of St. Clement Danes, called the 'Frere Pye Garden.'¹ Beyond this, again, was the dependency (granted by Henry VII.) of the collegiate church of St. Martin's-le-Grand. St. Martin's-le-Grand. The Abbot of Westminster became the Dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and, in consequence of this connection, its inhabitants continued to vote in the Westminster elections till the Reform Act of 1832,² and the High Steward of Westminster still retains the title of High Steward of St. Martin's-le-Grand.

From this side the Monastery itself was, like the great temples of Thebes, approached by a continual succession of gateways; probably, also, by a considerable ascent³ of rising ground. Along the narrow King Street. avenue of the Royal Way⁴ — the King's Street — underneath two stately arches, the precincts of the Palace of Westminster were entered. Close within them was the clock tower, containing the bell, which, under the name of Great Tom of Westminster, sounded throughout the metropolis from the west, as now from its new position in the east.⁵ The Palace itself we leave to the more general historians of Westminster. Then followed the humbler gateway which opened into the courtyard of the Palace, and farther

¹ See Archives : Parcel 31, Item 5.

² Kempe's *History of St. Martin's-le-Grand*, and see Chapter VI.

³ The present ground is nine feet above the original surface of the island. (*Westminster Improvements*, 13.)

⁴ When the King went to Parliament, faggots were thrown into the cart-ruts of King Street to enable the state coach to pass. (*Westminster Improvements*, 19.) See *Gent. Mag.* 1866, pt. i. pp. 777, 778.

⁵ See Chapter VI.



OLD GATEHOUSE OF THE PRECINCTS, WESTMINSTER.

PULLED DOWN IN 1776.

west, at what is now the entrance of Tothill Street, the Gatehouse or Prison¹ of the Monastery.²

The Gatehouse consisted of two chambers over two arches,³ built in the time of Edward III., by Walter de Warfield, the cellarer or butler of the Abbey.⁴ Its history, though belonging to the period after the Reformation, must be anticipated here. The Prison.

It was then that whilst one of the chambers became the Bishop of London's prison for convicted clergy, and for Roman Catholic recusants,⁵ the other acquired a fatal celebrity as the public prison of Westminster.

Here Raleigh was confined on the night before his execution. After the sentence pronounced upon him in the King's Bench he was 'putt into a very uneasy⁶ and inconvenient lodging in the Gatehouse.' He was conveyed thither from Westminster Hall by the Sheriff of Middlesex. The carriage which conveyed him wound its way slowly through the crowds that thronged St. Margaret's Churchyard to see him pass: amongst them he noticed his old friend Sir Hugh Burton, and invited him to come to Palace Yard on the morrow to see him die. Weekes, the Governor of the Gatehouse, received him kindly. Tounson, the Dean of Westminster, came and prayed with him a while.⁷ The Dean was somewhat

Raleigh
imprisoned,
Oct. 29,
1618.

¹ Cartulary.

² There is a drawing of it in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. (See also Walcott, p. 273.)

³ Cooper's Plans, 1808. (Soc. Ant. Lond.)

⁴ Stow, p. 176.

⁵ The Spanish Ambassador Gondomar had it cleared of these by order of James I. One of them was afterwards canonised. (Edwards's *Life of Raleigh*, i. 693.)

⁶ Public Record Office, State Papers (Domestic), James I., vol. ciii. No. 74. St. John's *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 343-369.

⁷ Tounson's letter in Edwards's *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 489.

startled at Raleigh's high spirits, and almost tried to persuade him out of them. But Raleigh persevered, and answered that he was 'persuaded that no man that knew God and feared Him could die with cheerfulness and courage, except he was assured of the love and favour of God towards him; that other men might make show, but they felt no joy within.' Later in the evening his wife came to him, and it was then that, on hearing how she was to take charge of his body, he replied, 'It is well, Bess, that thou shouldest have the disposal of the dead, which thou hadst not always the disposing of, living.' Shortly after midnight he parted from her, and then, as is thought, wrote on the blank leaf in his Bible his farewell of life —

Ev'n such is Time, that takes on trust
 Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
 And pays us but with age and dust;
 Who in the dark and silent grave,
 When we have wander'd all our ways,
 Shuts up the story of our days.
 But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
 The Lord shall raise me up, I trust.¹

After a short sleep, about four in the morning, 'a cousin of his, Mr. Charles Thynne, coming to see him, Sir Walter, finding him sad, began to be very pleasant with him; whereupon Mr. Thynne counselled him: Sir, take heed you goe not too muche upon the brave hande; for your enemies will take exceptions at that.

¹ 'Verses said to have been found in his Bible in the Gatehouse at Westminster' — 'given to one of his friends the night before his suffering.' (*Raleigh's Poems*, p. 729.) Another short poem is also said to be 'the night before he died:'

Cowards fear to die; but courage stout,
 Rather than live in snuff, will be put out.

The well-known poem, called his 'Farewell,' also ascribed to this night, had already appeared in 1596. (*Ibid.* 727-729.)

Good Charles (quoth he) give me leave to be mery, for this is the last merriment that ever I shall have in this worlde: but when I come to the last parte, thou shalte see I will looke on it like a man;—and so he was as good as his worde.' At five Dean Tounson returned, and again prayed with him. After he had received the Communion he 'was very cheerful and merry, ate his breakfast heartily,' 'and took a last whiff of his beloved tobacco, and made no more of his death than if he had been to take a journey.'¹ Just before he left the Gatehouse a cup of sack was given him. 'Is it to your liking?' 'I will answer you,' he said, 'as did the fellow who drank of St. Giles' bowl as he went to Tyburn, "It is good drink if a man might but tarry by it."'² The Dean accompanied him to the scaffold. The remaining scenes belong to Old Palace Yard, and to St. Margaret's Church, where he lies buried.

Sir John Elliot, who certainly, and Hampden probably, had in boyhood witnessed Raleigh's execution, with deep emotion, were themselves ^{Hampden and Elliot} his successors in the Gatehouse, for the cause ^{Lovelace} of constitutional freedom.³ To it, from the other side, came the royalist Lovelace, and there wrote his lines—

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an hermitage.
If I have freedom in my love,
And in my soul am free,
Angels alone, that soar above,
Enjoy such liberty.

¹ Edwards's *Raleigh*, ii. 489. He said on the scaffold 'I have taken the sacrament with Master Dean, and have forgiven both Stakeley and the Frenchman.' (Ibid. i. 701.)

² Edwards's *Raleigh*, i. 698.

³ Forster's *Statesmen*, i. 18, 53.

In it, Lilly, the astrologer, found himself imprisoned immediately after the Restoration, 'upstairs
 Lilly. where there was on one side a company of rude swearing persons, on the other side many Quakers, who lovingly entertained him.'¹ In it Sir Geoffrey Hudson, the dwarf, died, at the age of sixty-three, under suspicion of complicity in the Popish
 Hudson. Plot.² In it the indefatigable Pepys,³ Collier, the nonjuring divine, and Savage the poet, made their
 Pepys. Collier. experience of prison life.⁴ In it, according to Savage. his own story, Captain Bell was incarcerated, Capt. Bell. and translated 'Luther's Table Talk,' having 'many times begun to translate the same, but always was hindered through being called upon about other businesses. Thus,' he writes, 'about six weeks after I had received the same book, it fell out that one night, between twelve and one of the clock . . . there appeared unto me an ancient man, standing at my bedside, arrayed all in white, having a long and broad white beard hanging down to his girdle, who, taking me by my right ear, spoke these words following to me: Sirrah, will you not take time to translate that book which is sent you out of Germany? I will shortly provide for you both place and time to do it. And then he vanished away out of my sight. . . . Then, about a fortnight after I 'had seen that vision, I went to Whitehall to hear the sermon, after which ended, I returned to my lodging, which was then in King Street, Westminster; and sitting down to dinner with my wife, two messengers were sent from the Privy Council Board, with a warrant to carry me to

¹ *Life of Lilly*, p. 91. Edwards's *Raleigh*, i. 699-715.

² In *Peveril of the Peak*, the Gatehouse is confounded with Newgate.

³ Evelyn, iii. 297.

⁴ Johnson's *Poets*, iii. 309.

the Keeper of the Gatehouse, Westminster, there to be safely kept until further order from the hands of the Council — which was done, without showing me any cause at all wherefore I was committed. Upon which said warrant I was kept there ten whole years close prisoner; where I spent five years thereof in translating the said book, insomuch that I found the words very true which the old man in the foresaid vision did say unto me, "I will shortly provide for you both place and time to translate it."'¹ The Gatehouse remained standing down to the middle of the last century. The neighbourhood was familiar with the cries of the keeper to the publican opposite, 'Jackass, Jackass,' for gin for the prisoners. It was pulled down in 1777, a victim to the indignation of Dr. Johnson. One of its arches, however, was still continued in a house which was as late as 1839 celebrated as having been the abode of Edmund Burke.²

The office of Keeper of the Gatehouse was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter. Perhaps the most remarkable 'Keeper' was Maurice Pickering, who, in Keeper of the Gatehouse. a paper addressed to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in 1580, says: 'My predecessor and my wief and I have kept this offis of the Gatehouse this XXIII. yeres and upwards.' He was considered a great man in Westminster, and in official documents he was styled 'Maurice Pickering, gentleman.' At one time Maurice Pickering, 1580. he and his wife are mentioned as dining at a marriage-feast at 'His Grace the Lord Bishop of Rochester's, in Westminster Close,' and at another as supping with Sir George Peckham, Justice of the Peace.

¹ Southey's *Doctor*, vii. 354-356.

² *Westminster Improvements*, 55. The order for its removal is in the Chapter-Book, July 10, 1776.

On another occasion, when supping with Sir George he foolishly let out some of the secrets of his office in chatting with Lady Peckham (the Gatehouse at that time was full of needy prisoners for religion's sake, whose poverty had become notorious). 'He told her Ladyship, in answer to a question she asked him, Yea, I have many poor people for that cause (meaning religion), and for restraunte (poverty) of their friends I fear they will starve, as I have no allowance for them. For this Master Pickering was summoned before the Lord Chancellor, examined by the Judges, and severely reprimanded;' upon which he sent a most humble and sorrowful petition to Lord Burleigh, 'praying the comfort of his good Lord's mercy' in the matter, and protesting that he had ever prayed for 'the prosperous reign of the Queene, who hath defended us from the tearing of the Devill, the Poope, and all his ravening wolvves.' The Privy Council appears to have taken no further notice of the matter, except to require an occasional return of the prisoners in the Gatehouse to the Justices of the Peace assembled at Quarter Sessions.¹

1588. In the year of the Armada, Pickering presented to the Burgesses of Westminster a fine silver-gilt 'standing-cup,' which is still used at their feasts, the cover (the gift of his wife) being held over the heads of those who drink. It has the quaint inscription —

The Giver to his Brother wisheth peace,
With Peace he wisheth Brother's love on earth,
Which Love to seal, I as a pledge am given,
A standing Bowle to be used in mirthe.

The gift of Maurice Pickering and Joan his wife, 1588.

¹ I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Trollope, Town-Clerk of Westminster.

Passing the Gatehouse and returning from this anticipation of distant times, we approach the Sanctuary. The right of 'Sanctuary' was shared by the Abbey with at least thirty other great English monasteries;¹ but probably in none did the building occupy so prominent a position, and in none did it play so important a part. The grim old Norman fortress,² which was still standing in the seventeenth century, is itself a proof that the right reached back, if not to the time of the Confessor, at least to the period when additional sanctity was imparted to the whole Abbey by his canonisation in 1198. The right professed to be founded on charters of King Lucius,³ and continued, it was believed, till the time of 'the ungodly King Vortigern.' It was then, as was alleged, revived by Sebert, and sanctioned by the special consecration by St. Peter, whose cope was exhibited as the very one which he had left behind him on the night of his interview with Edric, and as a pledge (like St. Martin's cope in Tours) of the inviolable sanctity of his monastery.⁴ Again, it was supposed to have been dissolved 'by the cursed Danes,' and revived 'by the holy king St. Edward,' who had 'procured the Pope to call a synod for the establishing thereof, wherein the breakers thereof are doomed to perpetual fire with the betrayer Judas.' Close by was a Belfry Tower,⁵ built by Edward III., in which hung the Abbey Bells, which remained there till Wren had completed the Western Towers, and which rang

¹ *Arch.* viii. 41.

² Described in *Archæolog.* i. 35; Maitland's *Lond.* (Entinck), ii. 134; *Gleanings*, p. 228; Walcott, p. 81.

³ *Eulog.* iii. 346; More's *Life of Richard III.*, p. 40; Kennet, i. 491.

⁴ Neale, i. 55; Dart (App.), p. 17. See Chapter I.

⁵ Where now stands the Guildhall, built 1805. (Widmore, p. 11; *Gleanings*, p. 228; Walcott, p. 82.)

for coronations and tolled for royal funerals. 'Their ringings, men said, soured all the drink in the town.' The building, properly so called, included two churches, an upper and a lower, which the inmates were expected, as a¹ kind of penance, to frequent. But the right of asylum rendered the whole precinct a vast 'cave of Adullam' for all the distressed and discontented of the metropolis who desired, according to the phrase of the time, 'to take Westminster.' Sometimes, if they were of higher rank, they established their quarters in the great Northern Porch of the Abbey, with tents pitched, and guards watching round, for days and nights together.² Sometimes they darted away from their captors, to secure the momentary protection of the consecrated ground. 'Thieving' or 'Thieven'³ Lane was the name long attached to the winding⁴ street at the back of the Sanctuary, along which 'thieves' were conducted to the prison in the Gatehouse, to avoid these untoward emancipations if they were taken straight across the actual precincts.⁵ One such attempt is recorded a short time before the Dissolution. In 1512, a sturdy butcher of the name of Briggs, in trying to rescue Robert Kene 'while being conveyed to the Gatehouse,' was killed by Maurice Davy the constable.⁶ Sometimes they occupied St. Martin's-le-Grand (which, after the time of Henry VII., was, by a legal fiction, reckoned part of the Abbey⁷), thus making those main

¹ It is also said that one object of St. Margaret's Church was to relieve the south aisle of the Abbey from this dangerous addition to the worshippers. (*Westminster Improvements*, 10.)

² Capgrave's *Chron.*, p. 298; Walsingham, ii. 285.

³ The ancient plural of 'Thieves.' See *Westminster Improvements*, 25.

⁴ Hence called Bow Street. (Walcott, p. 70.)

⁵ Smith, p. 27.

⁶ State Papers, H. VIII. 3509.

⁷ Stow, p. 615.

refuges 'one at the elbow of the city, the other in the very bowels.' 'I dare well avow it, weigh the good that they do with the hurt that cometh of them, and ye shall find it much better to lack both than have both. And this I say, although they were not abused as they now be, and so long have been, that I fear me ever they will be, while men be afraid to set their hands to the amendment; as though God and St. Peter were the patrons of ungracious living. Now unthrifths riot and run in debt upon the boldness of these places; yea, and rich men run thither with poor men's goods. There they build, there they spend and bid their creditors go whistle for them. Men's wives run thither with their husbands' plate, and say they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Thieves bring thither their stolen goods, and there live thereon. There devise they new robberies: nightly they steal out, they rob and reave, and kill, and come in again as though those places gave them not only a safeguard for the harm they have done, but a licence also to do more. Howbeit much of this mischief, if wise men would set their hands to it, might be amended, with great thank of God, and no breach of the privilege.'¹

Such was the darker side of the institution. It had, doubtless, a better nucleus round which these turbulent elements gathered. If often the resort of vice, it was sometimes the refuge of innocence, and its inviolable character provoked an invidious contrast with the terrible outrage which had rendered Canterbury Cathedral the scene of the greatest historical murder of our annals.

¹ Speech of the Duke of Buckingham, in Sir T. More's *Life of Richard III.* vol. ii. p. 80. It is probably a dramatic speech put into the mouth of a hostile witness; but it serves to show what were regarded as notorious facts in More's time.

In fact, the jealous sensitiveness of the Chapter of Canterbury had given currency to a prediction that the blood of Becket would never be avenged till a similar sacrilege defiled the walls of Westminster.¹ At last it came, doubtless in a very inferior form, but creating a powerful sensation at the time, and leaving permanent traces behind.

During the campaign of the Black Prince in the North of Spain, two of his knights, Shackle and Hawle, had taken prisoner a Spanish Count. He returned home for his ransom, leaving his son in his place. The ransom never came, and the young Count continued in captivity. He had, however, a powerful friend at Court — John of Gaunt, who, in right of his wife, claimed the crown of Castile, and in virtue of this Spanish royalty demanded the liberty of the young Spaniard. The two English captors refused to part with so valuable a prize. John of Gaunt, with a high hand, imprisoned them in the Tower, whence they escaped and took sanctuary at Westminster. They were pursued by Alan Bloxhall, Constable of the ^{Murder of} Tower, and Sir Ralph Ferrers, with fifty ^{Hawle, Aug.} armed men.² It was a day long remembered in the Abbey — the 11th of August, the festival of St. Taurinus. The two knights, probably for greater security, had fled not merely into the Abbey, but into the Choir itself. It was the moment of the celebration of High Mass. The Deacon had just reached the words of the Gospel of the day, 'If the goodman of the house had known what time the thief would appear,'⁴ when the clash of arms was heard, and the pursuers, regardless of time or place, burst in upon the service. Shackle

¹ Walsingham, ii. 378.

² Ibid.

³ Widmore, p. 104.

⁴ *Eulog. Hist.* iii. 342, 343.

escaped, but Hawle was intercepted. Twice he fled round the Choir, his enemies hacking at him as he ran, and at length, pierced with twelve wounds,¹ sank dead in front of the Prior's Stall, that is, at the north side of the entrance of the Choir.² His servant and one of the monks fell with him.³ He was regarded as a martyr to the injured rights of the Abbey, and obtained the honour (at that time unusual) of burial within its walls — the first who was laid, so far as we know, in the South Transept, to be followed a few years later by Chaucer, who was interred at his feet. A brass effigy and a long epitaph marked, till within the last century, the stone where he lay,⁴ and another inscription was engraved on the stone where he fell, and on which his effigy may still be traced. The Abbey was shut up for four months,⁵ and Parliament was suspended, lest its assembly should be polluted by sitting within the desecrated precincts, and from the alleged danger of London.⁶ The whole case was heard before the King. The Abbot, William of Colchester, who speaks of 'the horrible crime'⁷ as an act which every one would recognise under that name, recited the whole story of St. Peter's midnight visit to the fisherman,⁸ as the authentic ground of the right of sanctuary; and carried his point so far as to procure from the Archbishops and Bishops an excommunication of the two chief assailants — which was repeated every Wednesday and Friday by the Bishop of London at St. Paul's — and the payment of £200 from them (equal to at

¹ Widmore, p. 104.² Brayley, p. 258.³ Weever, p. 261.⁴ Neale, ii. 269.⁵ Widmore, p. 106. Cartulary.⁶ Brayley, p. 259.⁷ 'Illud factum horrible.' (Archives, Parcel 41.)⁸ *Eulog.* iii. 346. See Chapter I.

least £2,000) to the Abbey by way of penance. On the other hand, Shackle¹ gave up his Spanish prisoner, who had waited upon him as his valet, but not without the remuneration of 500 marks in hand and 100 for life;² and the extravagant claims of the Abbot led (as often happens in like cases) to a judicial sifting of the right of sanctuary, which from that time forward was refused in the case of debtors.³

This tremendous uproar took place in the early years of Richard II., and perhaps was not without its effect in fixing his attention on the Abbey, to which he afterwards showed so much devotion.⁴ Another sacrilege of the like kind took place nearly at the same time, but seems to have been merged in the general horror of the events of which it formed a part. At the time of the rebellion of Wat Tyler, John Mangett, Marshal of the Marshalsea, had clung for safety to one of the slender marble pillars round the Confessor's Shrine, and was torn away by Wat Tyler's orders.⁵ The King, with his peculiar feeling for the Abbey, immediately sent to inquire into the act. Within the precincts, close adjoining to St. Margaret's Church, was a tenement known by the name of the 'Anchorite's House.'⁶

¹ He himself seems to have been buried in the Abbey, 1396. (Stow, p. 614.)

² Widmore, p. 106.

³ Walsingham, i. 378.

⁴ See Chapter III. In addition to the proofs of Richard II.'s interest in the Abbey there mentioned, may be given the following curious incidents. The anniversary of his coronation was celebrated at the altar of St. John as long as he lived, 1395. He sent a portion of the cloth of gold, with 50 points of gold, in which the Confessor was wrapt, to his uncle the Duke of Berry, 1397. His flight and deposition are carefully recorded in 1399. (Cartulary.) The name of the maker of the mould of the statues of himself and his queen — William Wodestreet — in 1394, is preserved. (Ib.) ⁵ Brayley, p. 266.

⁶ Chapter Book, May 10, 1604. — It occurs in other entries as the *Anchor's House*. Its last appearance is in the Chapter Book, June 3,

Here, as often in the neighbourhood of great conventual buildings, dwelt, apparently from generation to generation, a hermit, who acted as a kind of oracle to the neighbourhood. To him, as afterwards Henry V., so now Richard II. resorted, and encouraged by his counsels, went out on his gallant adventure to Smithfield, where his presence suppressed the rebellion.¹

A more august company took refuge here in the next century. Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV., twice made the Sanctuary her home. The first time was just before the birth of her eldest son. On this occasion she, with her three daughters and Lady Scrope, took up their abode as 'sanctuary women,' apparently within the Sanctuary itself. The Abbot (Milling) sent them provisions — 'half a loaf and two muttons' — daily. The nurse in the Sanctuary assisted at the birth, and in these straits Edward V. first saw the light; and was baptized by the Sub-prior, with the Abbot as his godfather, and the Duchess of Bedford and Lady Scrope as his godmothers.² The Queen remained there till her husband's triumphant entry into London. The second occasion was yet more tragical. When Richard III.'s conspiracy against his nephews transpired, the Queen again flew to her well-known refuge — with her five daughters, and, this time, not with her eldest son (who was already in the tower), but with her second son, Richard Duke of York. She

First visit
of Elizabeth
Woodville,
Oct. 1, 1470.

Birth of
Edward V.,
Nov. 14, 1470.

Second visit
of Elizabeth
Woodville,
April, 1483.

1778. One of the hermits who lived here — perhaps this very one, was buried in his own chapel. (Cartulary, see p. 431.) There was a hermit of the same kind in the precincts at Norwich. They were also common in Ireland. The remains of such a hermitage exist close to the Cathedral of Kilkenny. See Graves's *Kilkenny*, p. 7; *Arch. Journal*, xi. 194-200; Kingsley's *Hermits*.

¹ Howe's *Chronicle*, p. 284.

² Strickland, iii. 328.

crossed from the Palace at midnight, probably through the postern-gate, into the 'Abbot's Place.' It was in one of the great chambers of the house, probably the Dining-hall (now the College Hall), that she was received by Abbot Esteney.¹ There the Queen 'sate alone on the rushes, all desolate and dismayed,' and all 'about her much heaviness, rumble, haste, and business; carriage and conveyance of her stuff into Sanctuary; chests, coffers, packers, fardels, trussed all on men's backs; no man unoccupied — some lading, some going, some discharging, some coming for more, some breaking down the walls to bring in the next way.' In this scene of confusion appeared Rotheram, Archbishop of York, who deposited with her the Great Seal, 'and departed hence again, yet in the dawning of the day. By which time he might, in his chamber window' [from his palace on the site of the present Whitehall] 'see all the Thames full of boats of the Duke of Gloucester's servants, watching that no man should pass to the Sanctuary.' The Queen, it would seem, had meantime withdrawn into the fortress of the Sanctuary itself, where, as she said, 'her other son, now King, was born and kept in his cradle;' and there she received the southern Primate, Cardinal Bourchier. It is instructive to observe how powerful the terrors of the Sanctuary were in the eyes both of besiegers and besieged. The King would have taken his nephew by force from the Sanctuary, but was met by the two Archbishops with the never-failing argument of St. Peter's visit to the fisherman, 'in proof whereof they have yet in the Abbey St. Peter's cope to show.'² At last, however, even this was believed to have been turned by some

¹ His effigy, copied from his tomb, now hangs in the Hall.

² More's *Life of Edward V.*, p. 40.

ingenious casuist, who argued that, as the child was incapable of such crimes as needed sanctuary, so he was incapable of receiving sanctuary. The Queen resisted with all the force of a woman's art and a mother's love. 'In what place could I reckon him secure if he be not secure in this Sanctuary, whereof was there never yet tyrant so devilish that durst presume to break? But, you say, my son can deserve no sanctuary, and therefore he cannot have it. Forsooth he hath found a goodly gloss, by which that place that may defend a thief may not save an innocent. . . . I can no more, but whosoever he be that breaketh this holy sanctuary, I pray God shortly send him need of sanctuary, when he may not come to it! For taken out of sanctuary I would not my mortal enemy were.'

The argument of the ecclesiastic, however, at last prevailed. 'And therewithal she said to the child, "Farewell, mine own sweet son; God send you good keeping! Let me kiss you once, ere you go; for God knoweth when we shall kiss one another again." And therewith she kissed him and blessed him, turned her back, and went her way, leaving the child weeping as fast.'¹ She never saw her sons again. She was still in the Sanctuary when she received the news of their death, and ten months elapsed before she and the Princesses left it. The whole precinct was strictly guarded by Richard; so that 'the solemn Church of Westminster and all the adjacent region was changed after the form of a camp or fortress.'

At the same moment, another child of a princely house was in the monastery, also hiding from the terror

¹ Strickland's *Queens*, iii. 331, 348, 355, 377; Green's *Princesses*, iii. 413.

of the 'Boar.' Owen Tudor, the uncle of Henry VII.,
Owen Tudor. had himself been sheltered in the Sanctuary
 in the earlier days of the York dynasty, was
 now there as a monk, and was buried at last in St.
 Blaise's Chapel.

The last eminent person who received the shelter of
 the Sanctuary fled thither from the violence, not of
Skelton. Princes, but of Ecclesiastics. Skelton, the
 earliest known Poet Laureate, from under the
 wing of Abbot Islip, poured forth against Cardinal
 Wolsey those furious invectives, which must have
 doomed him to destruction but for the Sanctuary,
 impregnable even by all the power of the Cardinal at
 the height of his grandeur. No stronger proof can be
 found of the sacredness of the spot, or of the indepen-
 dence of the institution. He remained here till his
 death,¹ and, like Le Sueur in the Chartreuse at Paris,
 rewarded his protectors by writing the doggerel epitaphs
 which were hung over the royal tombs, and which are
 preserved in most of the older antiquarian works on
 the Abbey.

The rights of the Sanctuary were dissolved with the
 dissolution of the Abbey. Abbot Feckenham, as we
End of the Sanctuary, 1536. shall see, made a vigorous speech in behalf of
 the retention of its privileges; and under his
 auspices three fugitives were there, of very unequal
 rank, 'for murder;' a young Lord Dacre, for killing
 'Squire West;' a thief, for killing a tailor in Long
 Acre; and a Westminster scholar, for 'killing a big boy
 that sold papers and printed books in Westminster
 Hall.'² These probably were³ its last homicides.

¹ He was buried in St. Margaret's Churchyard, 1529.

² Machyn's *Diary*, Dec. 6, 1556. See Chapter VI.

³ There seems to have been much discussion as to a case in which

After the accession of Elizabeth its inmates were restricted chiefly to debtors, under the vigilant supervision of the Dean and the Archdeacon. But at last even this privilege was attacked. On that occasion, Dean Goodman pleaded the claims of the Sanctuary before the House of Commons, and, abandoning the legend of St. Peter, rested them on the less monastic but not less apocryphal charters of King Lucius.¹ Whatever there might be in other arguments, there was 'one strong especial reason for its continuance here. This privilege had caused the houses within the district to let well.'² For a time the Dean's arguments, fortified by those of two learned civilians, prevailed. But Elizabeth added sterner and sterner restrictions, and James I. at last suppressed it with all other Sanctuaries.³ Unfortunately, the iniquity and ¹⁶⁰² vice which gathered round the neighbourhood of the Abbey, and which has only in our own time been cleared away, was the not unnatural result of this 'City of Refuge,' a striking instance of the evils which, sooner or later, are produced by any attempt to exalt local or ecclesiastical sanctity above the claims of law, and justice, and morality. The 'Sanctuaries' of mediæval Christendom may have been necessary remedies for a barbarous state of society; but when the barbarism of which they formed a part disappeared, they became almost unmixed evils; and the National Schools and the Westminster Hospital, which have succeeded to the site of the Westminster Sanctuary, may not

the Abbot, somewhat contrary to his own principles, had delivered up a robber of the name of Vaughan. (*Excerpta Historica*, 312.)

¹ Strype's *Annals*, i. 528.

² Widmore, p. 141; Walcott, p. 80.

³ Widmore, *ibid.*; 1 Jas. I. c. 25, § 34; 21 Jas. I. c. 28.

unfairly be regarded as humble indications of the dawn of a better age.

Not far from the Sanctuary was the Almonry, or 'Ambrey.' It was coeval with the Abbey, but was endowed afresh by Henry VII. with a pension for thirteen poor men,¹ and with another for women, by his mother, Margaret of Richmond. In connection with it were two Chapels, that of St. Dunstan,² the scene of a Convocation in the reign of Henry VIII.,³ and that of St. Anne, which gave its name to St. Anne's Lane,⁴ for ever famous through Sir Roger de Coverley's youthful adventure there : —

This worthy knight, being then but a stripling, had occasion to inquire which was the way to *St. Anne's Lane*, upon which the person whom he spoke to, instead of answering his question, called him 'a young Popish cur,' and asked him who had made Anne a saint? The boy, being in some confusion, inquired of the next he met, which was the way to *Anne's Lane*; but was called 'a prick-eared cur' for his pains, and, instead of being shown the way, was told that she had been a saint before he was born, and would be one after he was hanged. 'Upon this,' says Sir Roger, 'I did not think fit to repeat the former question, but going into every lane in the neighbourhood, asked what they called the name of that lane.' By which ingenious artifice he found out the place he inquired after, without giving offence to any party.⁵

The inner arch of the Gatehouse led into an irregular square, which was the chief court of the monastery,

¹ Stow, p. 644. — Twelve of the almsmen still continue, bearing the badge of Henry VII.'s Portcullis.

² Ware.

³ Wilkins, *Conc.* iii. 749. See Chapter VI.

⁴ In this lane was Purcell's house. (Novello's *Life of Purcell*, p. x.)

⁵ *Spectator*, No. 125. The lane is now destroyed.

corresponding to what is at Canterbury called the 'Green Court,' and which at Westminster, in like manner (from the large trees planted round it), was known as 'The Elms.'¹ Amongst them grew a huge oak, which was blown down in 1791. Across this court ran the long building of the Granary. It was of two storeys, and was surmounted by a large central tower. Near it was the Oxstall, or stable for the cattle, and the Barn adjoining the mill-dam.² Its traces were still visible in the broken ground at the beginning of this century. At right angles to it were the Bakehouse and Brewhouse.

The Abbot's Place (or Palace), built by Littlington with a slight addition by Islip, like the Abbot's house at St. Albans, occupied the south-western side of the Abbey, and stood round an irregular quadrangle, into which, for the most part (as in all houses of that age), its windows looked. Only from the Grand Dining-Hall and its parlour there were windows into the open space before the Sanctuary. It was commonly called 'Cheyney Gate Manor,' from the conspicuous chain³ which was drawn across the approach from the Sanctuary. It had a Chapel in Islip's time, perhaps built or arranged by him, — 'My Lord's new Chapel,' hung with 'tapestry of the planets,' and white curtains 'full of red heads,' probably that at the south-west end of the Nave — in

¹ Malcolm, p. 256. — The green of Dean's Yard was first made in 1753. (*Gleanings*, p. 229.) Professor Willis (*Arch. Cantiana*, vii. 97) conjectures that the word 'Homers' applied to part of the Canterbury Precincts, is a corruption of 'Ormeaux' ('Elms').

² See the document quoted in *Gleanings*, p. 224; and *Gent. Mag.* [1815], part i. p. 201. See Chapter VI.

³ *Gleanings*, p. 222. — So the approach to the Deanery of St. Paul's is called 'St. Paul's Chain.'

connection with the newly built 'Jericho Parlour' and with the wooden gallery which overlooks it, and which was hung in green and red silk, and having 'a little table of Queen Joan's arms.'¹ This house — the present Deanery — was the scene, already in the Middle Ages, of many striking events. The reception of Elizabeth Woodville in its Hall has been already told. In the Hall, before that time, was concerted the conspiracy² of Abbot Colchester, which Shakspeare has incorporated into the last scenes of the play of 'Richard II.' —

Aumerle. — You holy clergymen, is there no plot
To rid the realm of this pernicious blot ?

Abbot. — Before I freely speak my mind herein,
You shall not only take the sacrament
To bury mine intents, but to effect
Whatever I shall happen to devise.

Come home with me to supper ; I will lay
A plot, shall show us all a merry day.

The Abbot had been entrusted with the charge of the three Dukes and two Earls who were suspected by Henry IV. 'You shall be entertained honourably,' he said, 'for King Richard's sake ;' and he took the opportunity of their presence

Conspiracy
of William
of Colches-
ter, Oct. 17,
1399.

¹ Inventory.

² The authorities for this story are Holinshed and Hall, but in much more minute detail the French Chronicle (published by the English Historical Society) on the Betrayal of Richard II., pp. 228, 229, 258, 260. According to this, the Abbot and the two prelates were sent to the Tower, but afterwards released. According to Hall, when the conspiracy was discovered, 'the Abbot, going between his monastery and mansion for thought [i.e. for anxiety], fell into a sudden palsy, and shortly after, without speech, ended his life.' This is fabulous, as Colchester long outlived the conspiracy. (See Widmore, p. 110; *Archæologia*, x. 217.)

in his house to concert the plot with Walden the deposed Primate, Merks 'the good Bishop of Carlisle' (who had formerly been a monk at Westminster), Maudlin the priest (whose likeness to Richard was so remarkable), and two others attached to Richard's Court. They dined together, evidently in the Abbot's Hall, and then withdrew into what is called, in one version 'a secret chamber,'¹ in another 'a side council-chamber,' where six deeds were prepared by a secretary, to which six of the number affixed their seals, and swore to be faithful to the death of King Richard.² The 'secret chamber' may have been that which exists behind the wall of the present Library of the Deanery, and which was opened, after an interval of many years, in 1864.³ The Long Chamber, out of which it is approached, must have been the chief private apartment of the Abbot, and was lighted by six windows looking out on the quadrangle. But the 'side council-chamber' rather indicates the first of the long line of associations which attach to a spot immediately adjoining the Hall.

'There is an old, low, shabby wall, which runs off from the south side of the great west doorway into Westminster Abbey. This wall is only broken by one wired window, and the whole appearance of the wall and window is such, that many strangers and inhabitants have wondered why they were allowed to encumber and deform this magnificent front. But that wall is the JERUSALEM CHAMBER, and that guarded window is its principal light.' So a venerable church-reformer⁴ of our own day describes the external

¹ Holinshed.

² See Widmore, p. 110; and *Archæologia*, xx. 217.

³ See Chapter VI.

⁴ W. W. Hull's *Church Inquiry*. 1827, p. 244. See Chapter VI.

appearance of the Chamber which has witnessed so many schemes of ecclesiastical polity — some dark and narrow, some full of noble aspirations — in the later days of our Church, but which even in the Middle Ages had become historical. In the time of Henry IV. it was still but a private apartment — the withdrawing-room of the Abbot, opening on one hand into his refectory, on the other into his yard or garden¹ — just rebuilt by Nicholas Littleington, and deriving the name of Jerusalem, probably, from tapestries² or pictures of the history of Jerusalem, as the Antioch Chamber³ in the Palace of Westminster was so called from pictures of the history of Antioch.⁴ The small ante-chamber which connects it with the rest of the abbatial buildings was of later date, probably under Abbot Islip; but it derived its name doubtless from its proximity to its greater and more famous neighbour. As the older and larger was called the 'Jerusalem parlour,' so this was called the 'Jericho parlour.'⁵

If the Jerusalem Chamber was perhaps the scene of

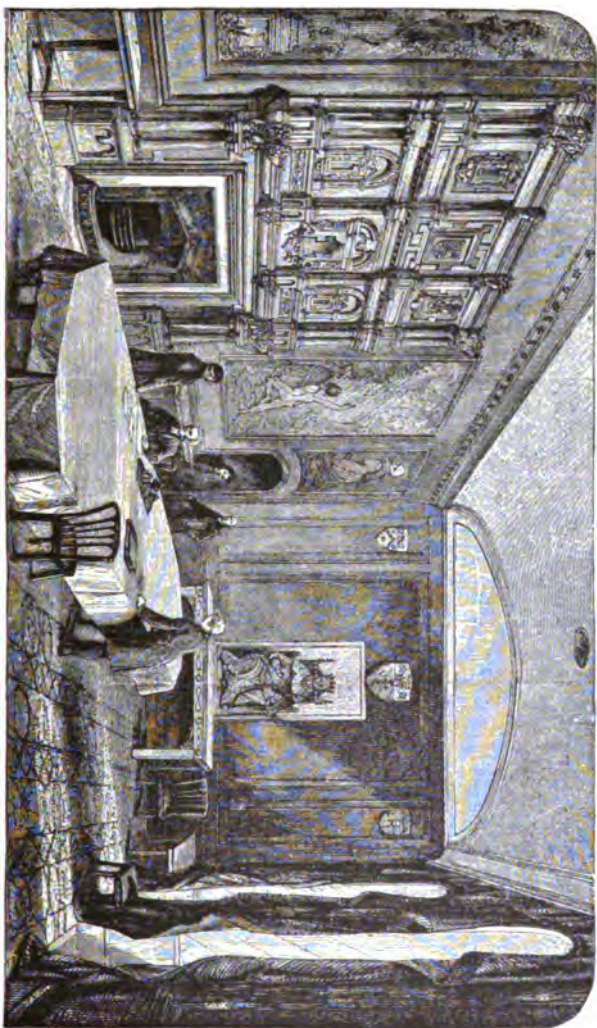
¹ It is this court probably which is mentioned in the accounts of Abbot Islip as 'the *Jerusalem Garden* in Cheneygate.' (Archives, May 5, 1494.)

² 'Two good peeces of counterfait arras, of the seege of Jerusalem.' (Walcott's Inventory, p. 47.) The tapestries in the 16th century represented the history of the planets. The curtains were of 'pale thread full of red roses.' (Inventory.)

³ Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, i. 20. — Brayley, 59. 'Galilee' was the name for the chamber between the Great and Little Hall in the Palace of Westminster. (*Vet. Mon.* iv. 2.)

⁴ The first mention of the Chamber in Henry IV.'s time, implies that there had been an earlier one, 'a certain chamber called of *old time Jerusalem*.' (*Rer. Angl. Script. Vet.* i. 499.) To this, perhaps, belonged the fragments of painted glass, of the time of Henry III., chiefly subjects from the New Testament, but not specially bearing on Jerusalem, in the northern window.

⁵ Inventory. On one of the windows is scratched the date 1512.



JERUSALEM CHAMBER, WESTMINSTER.

the conspiracy against the first Lancastrian king, it certainly was the scene of his death. Henry IV., as his son after¹ him, had been filled with the thought of expiating his usurpation by a crusade. His illness, meanwhile, had grown upon him during the last years of his life, so as to render him a burden to himself and to those around him. He was covered with a hideous leprosy, and was almost bent double with pain and weakness. In this state he had come up to London for his last Parliament. The galleys were ready for the voyage to the East. 'All haste and possible speed was made.' It was apparently not long after Christmas that the King was making his prayers at St. Edward's Shrine, 'to take there his leave, and so to speed him on his journey,' when he became so sick, that such as were about him feared 'that he would have died right there; where-fore they for his comfort bore him into the Abbot's Place, and lodged him in a Chamber, and there upon a pallet laid him before the fire, where he lay in great agony a certain time.' He must have been brought through the Cloisters, the present ready access from the Nave not being then in existence.² The 'fire' was doubtless where it now is, for which the Chamber then, as afterwards in the seventeenth century, was remarkable amongst the parlours of London, and which, as afterwards,³ so now, was the immediate though homely occasion of the historical interest of the Chamber. It was the early spring, when the Abbey was

Death of
Henry IV.,
March 20,
1413.

His illness.

¹ See Chapter III.

² This was probably added in Ialip's time, with the passage communicating directly into the Abbot's House.

³ See Chapter VI. It had 'a firefork' of iron and two 'andirons.' (Inventory.)

filled with its old deadly chill, and the friendly warmth naturally brought the King and his attendants to this spot. 'At length when he was come to himself, not knowing where he was, he freined (asked) of such as were about him, what place that was. The which showed to him that it belonged to the Abbot of Westminster; and, for he felt himself so sick, he commanded to ask if that Chamber had any special name. Whereto it was answered that it was named Hierusalem. Then said the King, Laud be to the Father of Heaven! for now I know that I shall die in this Chamber, according to the prophecy made of me beforesaid, that I should die in Hierusalem.'¹ All through his reign his mind had been filled with predictions of this sort. One especially had run through Wales, describing that the son of the eagle 'should conquer Jerusalem.'² The prophecy was of the same kind as that which misled Cambyses at Ecbatana, on Mount Carmel, when he had expected to die at Ecbatana in Media; and (according to the legend) Pope Sylvester II., at 'Santa Croce in Gerusalemme,' when he had expected to avoid the Devil by not going to the Syrian Jerusalem; and Robert Guiscard, when he found himself unexpectedly in a convent called Jerusalem in Cephalonia.³

With this predetermination to die, the King lingered on —

Bear me to that Chamber: there I'll lie —
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die;⁴

¹ Fabyan, pp. 388, 389.

² *Arch.* xx. 257.

³ Palgrave's *Normandy*, iv. 479. — A convent bearing the name of 'Jerusalem' exists on Mount Parnassus, and another near Moscow.

⁴ For many years (see Chapter III.) the portrait of his rival, Richard II., was hung in this Chamber. It has now returned to its original place in the Abbey.

and it was then and there that occurred the scene of his son's removal of the Crown, which Shakspeare has immortalised,¹ and which, though first mentioned by Monstrelet, is rendered probable by the frequent discussions which had been raised in ^{Conversion of Henry V.} Henry's last years as to the necessity of his resigning the crown:²—

Ceux qui de luy avoient la garde un certain iour, voyans que de son corps, n'issoit plus d'alaine, cuidans pour vray qu'il fut transis, luy avoient couvert le visage. Or est ainsi que comme il est accoutumé de faire en pays, on avoit mis sa couronne Royal sur une couch assez près de luy, laquelle devoit prendre presentement apres son trepas son dessusdit premier fils et successeur, lequel fut de ce faire assez prest : et print la dicte couronne, & emporta sur la donner à entendre des dictes gardes. Or advint qu'assez tost apres le Roy ieeta un soupir si fut descouvert, & retourna en assez bonne mémoire ; & tant qu'il regarda où auoit este sa couronne mise : & quand il ne la veit demanda où elle estoit, & ses gardes luy répondirent, Sire, monseigneur le Prince vostre fils l'a emporté : & il dit qu'on le fait venir devers luy & il y vint. Et adonc le Roy lui demanda pourquoi il avoit emporté sa couronne, & le Prince dit : Monseigneur, voicy en presence ceux qui' m'avoient donné à entendre & affirmé, qu'estiez trespassé, et pour ce que suis vostre fils aîné, et qu'à moy appartiendra vostre couronne & Royaume apres que serez allé de vie à trepas, l'avoye prise. Et adonc le Roy en soupirant

¹ It is perhaps too much to suppose that Shakspeare paid any attention to the actual localities, as he evidently represents the whole affair as taking place in the Palace. But it is curious that, if the King be supposed to remain in the Jerusalem Chamber, the Lords may have been 'in the other room'—the Dining Hall, where the music would play. Prince Henry might thus pass not 'through the chamber where they stayed,' but through the 'open door' of the Chamber itself into the adjacent court.

² Pauli, v. 72.

luy dit : Beau fils—comment y auriez vous droit car ie n'en y euz oncques point, & se sçauéz vous bien. Monseigneur, respondit le Prince, ainsi qui vous l'avez tenu et gardé à l'espée, c'est mon intention de la garder & defendre toute ma vie ; & adonc dit le Roy, or en faictes comme bon vous semblera : ie m'en rapporte à Dieu du surplus, auquel ie prie qu'il ait mercy de moy. Et bref apres sans autre chose dire, alla de vie à trepas.¹

The English chroniclers speak only of the Prince's faithful attendance on his father's sick-bed ; and when, as the end drew near, the King's failing sight² prevented him from observing what the ministering priest was doing, his son replied, with the devotedness characteristic of the Lancastrian House, 'My Lord, he has just consecrated the body of our Lord. I entreat you to worship Him, by whom kings reign and princes rule.' The King feebly raised himself up, and stretched out his hands ; and, before the elevation of the cup, called the Prince to kiss him, and then pronounced upon him a blessing,³ variously given, but in each version containing an allusion to the blessing of Isaac on Jacob—it may be from the recollection of the comparison of himself to Jacob on his first accession,⁴ or from the likeness of the relations of himself and his son to the two Jewish Patriarchs. 'These were the last words of the victorious Henry.'⁵ The Prince, in an agony of grief, retired to an oratory, as it would seem, within the monastery ; and there, on his bare

¹ Monstrelet, p. 163. — He speaks of the King's being buried 'à l'Eglise de Vaste moustier auprès ses prédécesseurs.' The burial (see Chapter III.) was really at Canterbury.

² Elmham, c. vii.

³ Ibid. Capgrave's *De Henricis*, p. 110.

⁴ See Chapter II.

⁵ Elmham, c. vii.

knees, and with floods of tears, passed the whole of that dreary day, till nightfall, in remorse for his past sins. At night he secretly went to a holy hermit in the Precincts (the successor, probably, of the one whom Richard II. had consulted), and from him, after a full confession, received absolution. Such was the tradition of what, in modern days, would be called the 'conversion of Henry V.'

The last historical purpose to which the Abbot's House was turned before the Dissolution was the four days' confinement of Sir Thomas More, under charge of the last Abbot, who strongly urged his acknowledgment of the King's Supremacy. From its walls he probably wrote his Appeal to a General Council,¹ and he was taken thence by the river to the Tower.

On leaving the Abbot's House, we find ourselves in the midst of the ordinary monastic life. It is now that we come upon the indications of the unusual grandeur of the establishment. The Abbot's House was, as we have seen, a little palace. The rest was in proportion. In most monasteries there was but one Prior (who filled the office of Deputy to the Abbot), and one Subprior. Here, close adjoining to the Abbot's House, was a long line of buildings, now forming the eastern side of Dean's Yard, which were occupied by the Prior, the Subprior, the Prior of the Cloister, and the two inferior Subpriors, and their Chaplain.² The South Cloister near the Prior's Chamber was painted with a fresco of the Nativity.³ The number of the inferior officers was doubled in like manner, raising the whole number to fifty or sixty. The ordinary

¹ More's *Works*, 282; Doyne Bell's *Tower Chapel*, p. 77.

² Ware, p. 275.

³ Cartulary.

members of the monastic community were, at least in the thirteenth century, not admitted without considerable scrutiny as to their character and motives. Their number seems to have amounted to about eighty. The whole suite was called 'the Long House,' or the 'Calbege,' or the 'House with the Tub in it'—from the large keel or cooling tub used in the vaulted cellarage. It terminated at the 'Blackstole Tower' still remaining at the entrance of 'Little Dean's Gate.'

The Abbot's House opened by a large archway, still visible, into the West Cloister. The Cloisters had been begun by the Confessor, and were finished
THE CLOISTERS. shortly after the Conquest. Part of the eastern side was rebuilt by Henry III., and part of the northern by Edward I. The eastern was finished by Abbot Byrcheston in 1345, and the southern and western, with the remaining part of the northern, by the Abbots Langham and Littlington from 1350 to 1366.¹ In this quadrangle was, doubtless, the focus of the monastic life, the place of recreation and gossip, of intercourse and business, and of final rest. In the central plot of grass were buried the humbler brethren; in the South and East Cloisters, as we have seen, the earlier Abbots. The behaviour of the monks in this public place was under the supervision of the two lesser Subpriors, who bore the somewhat unpleasant name of 'Spies of the Cloister.' In the North Cloister, close by the entrance of the Church, where the monks usually walked, sate the Prior. In the Western—the one

¹ *Gleanings*, 37, 52, 53. A fragment, bearing the names of William Rufus and Abbot Gislebert, is said to have been found in 1831. (*Gent. Mag.* [1831], part ii. p. 545.) A capital, with their joint heads, was found in the remains of the walls of the Westminster Palace. (*Vet. Mon.* vol. v. plate xcvii. p. 4.)



THE CLOISTERS, WITH ENTRANCE TO THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

still the most familiar to Westminster scholars — sate the Master of the Novices, with his disciples. The School in the West Cloisters. This was the first beginning of Westminster School. Traces of it have been found in the literary challenges of the London schoolboys, described by Fitzstephen,¹ in the reign of Henry II., and in the legendary traditions of Ingulph's schooldays, in the time of the Confessor and Queen Edith:—

Frequently have I seen her when, in my boyhood, I used to visit my father, who was employed about the Court; and often when I met her, as I was coming from school, did she question me about my studies and my verses, and most readily passing from the solidity of grammar to the brighter studies of logic, in which she was particularly skilful, she would catch me with the subtle threads of her arguments. She would always present me with three or four pieces of money, which were counted out to me by her handmaiden, and then send me to the royal larder to refresh myself.²

Near the seat of the monks was a carved crucifix.³ These novices or disciples at their lessons were planted, except for one hour in the day, each behind the other.⁴ No signals or jokes were allowed amongst them.⁵ No language but French was allowed in their communications with each other. English and Latin were expressly prohibited.⁶ The utmost care was to be taken with their writings and illuminations.⁷

¹ 'Pueri diversarum scholarum versibus inter se conrixantur.' (*Descript. Lond.*)

² *Ingulph's Chronicle* (A.D. 1043–1051). The Chronicle really dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century. (*Quart. Rev.* xxxiv. 296.)

³ Cartulary.

⁴ Ware, p. 268.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 277.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 280, 375, 388, 404, 422, 423. — The form of admission is given in Latin, French, and English, *ib.* p. 407.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 275, 281.

Besides these occupations, many others less civilised were carried on in the same place. Under the Abbots 'of venerable memory' before Henry III.'s changes, the

Cloister was the scene of the important act of shaving.

shaving, an art respecting which the most minute directions are given. Afterwards the younger monks alone underwent the operation thus publicly. Soap and hot water were to be always at hand; and if any of the monks were unable to perform their duty in this respect, they were admonished 'to revolve in their minds that saying of the Philosopher, "*For learning what is needful no age seems to be too late.*"'¹ In the stern old days, before the time of Abbot Berking 'of happy memory,' these Claustal shavings took place once a fortnight in summer, and once in three weeks in winter,² and also on Saturdays the heads and feet of the brethren were duly washed. An arcade in the South Cloister is conjectured to have been the Lavatory. Baths might be had for health, though not for pleasure. The arrangements for the cleanliness of the inmates form, in fact, there, as elsewhere in English monasteries, a curious contrast with the consecration of filth and discomfort in other parts of mediæval life both sacred and secular.

It is difficult to imagine how these various occupations were carried on in the Cloisters. The upper tracery of the bays appears to have³ been glazed; but the lower part was open, then as now; and the wind, rain, and snow must have swept pitilessly alike over the brethren in the hands of the monastic barber, and the novices turning over their books or spelling out

¹ Ware, pp. 291, 292, 293-296.

² Ibid. p. 290.

³ Remains of the iron fittings are still visible.

their manuscripts. The rough carpet of hay and straw in summer, and of rushes in winter, and the mats laid along the stone benches, must have given to the Cloisters a habitable aspect, unlike their present appearance, but could have been but a very inadequate protection against the inclemency of an English frost or storm.

If during any part of this conventual stir the Abbot appeared, every one rose and bowed and kept silence till he had gone by.¹ He passed on, and took his place in solitary grandeur in the Eastern Cloister.

Along the whole length of the Southern Cloister extended the Refectory of the Convent, as distinguished from that of the Abbot's Hall in his own 'palace.' There were, here, as in the other THE REFECTORY. greater monasteries,² guest chambers. The rules for the admission of guests show how numerous they were. They were always to be hospitably received, mostly with a double portion of what the inmates had, and were to be shown over the monastery as soon as they arrived. All Benedictines had an absolute claim on their brother Benedictines; and it was a serious complaint that on one occasion a crowd of disorderly Cistercian guests led to the improper exclusion of the Abbots of Boxley and Bayham, and the Precentor of Canterbury. The Refectory was a magnificent chamber, of which the lower arcades were of the time of the Confessor, or of the first Norman Kings; the upper story, which contained the Hall itself, of the time of Edward III. It was approached by two doors, which still remain in the Cloister. The towels for wiping their hands hung over the Lavatory outside, between

¹ Ware, pp. 278, 282.

² Remains exist of a chamber parallel to the Refectory, which probably served this purpose.

the doors, or at the table or window of the Kitchen,¹ which, with the usual Buttery in front (still in part remaining), was at the west end of the Refectory. The regulations for the behaviour of the monks at dinner are very precise. No monk was to speak at all, no guest above a whisper. Laymen of low rank were not to dine in the Refectory, except on the great exceptional occasion when, as we have seen, the fisherman — the successor of Edric — came with his offering of the salmon to St. Peter.² The Prior sate at the high table, with a small hand-bell (Squilla) beside him, and near him sate the greater guests. No one but Abbots or Priors of the Benedictine order might take his place, especially no Abbot of the rival Cistercians, and no Bishop. Guests were in the habit of purchasing annuities of provisions, not only for themselves, but for their descendants. No one was to sit with his hand on his chin, or his hand over his head, as if in pain, or to lean on his elbows, or to stare, or to crack nuts with his teeth.³ The arrangements of the pots of beer were gratefully traced to Abbot Crokesley, 'of blessed memory.'⁴ The usual reading of Scripture took place, closed by the usual formulary, *Tu autem, Domine miserere nobis*.⁵ The candles were to be carefully lit at dusk. Two scandals connected with this practice were preserved in the recollections of the monastery — one of a wicked cook, who had concealed a woman in the candle-cupboard; another of 'an irrational and impetuous

¹ Ware, p. 263.

² See Chapter I. p. 24.

³ Ware, pp. 206, 207.

⁴ Ibid, p. 303.

⁵ Ibid. p. 218. — Two particles of this Benedictine service are still preserved in the Hall of Christ Church, Oxford, on days when the Dean and Chapter dine. A single verse is recited, in Greek, from the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, which is cut short by the Dean saying '*Tu autem.*'

sacrist,' who had carried off the candles from the Great Refectory to the Lesser Dining-hall or 'Misericord.'¹ To what secular uses the Refectory was turned will appear as we proceed. The provisions were to be of the best kind, and were under the charge of the Cellarer. The wheat was brought up from the Thames to the Granary, which stood in the open space now called Dean's Yard, and the keeper of which was held to be 'the Cellarer's right hand.'²

Over the East Cloister, approached by a stair which still in part remains, was the Dormitory.³ In the staircase window leading up to it was a cruci-
THE DOR-
MITORY OF
THE MONKS.
 fix. The floor was covered with matting. Each monk had his own chest of clothes, and the like, carefully limited, as in a school or ship-cabin.⁴ They were liable to be waked up by the sounding of the gong or bell, or horn, or knocking of a board, at an alarm of fire, or of a sudden inundation of the Thames.⁵ A gallery still remains opening on the South Transept, by which they descended into the Church for their night services. They were permitted to have fur caps, made of the skins of wild cats or foxes.⁶ At right angles to the Dormitory, extending from the Cloister to the College garden, was the building known in monasteries as 'the lesser dormitory.'⁷

¹ Ware, pp. 233, 235.

² Ibid. p. 171.

³ The dormitory still exists, divided between the Chapter Library and the Great School. (See Chapter VI.) The stairs from the Cloisters were restored by Sir Gilbert Scott. (See *Gleanings*.) Another small stair, descending at the southern end, was discovered in 1869.

⁴ Ware, pp. 48, 49, 253, 255, 257.

⁵ Such a flood took place in 1274. (Matt. West.)

⁶ Ware, pp. 25, 241.

⁷ The long subterranean drain, which indicates the course of the building, was found in 1868. See *Archæologia Cantiana*, vii. 82.

We pass abruptly from this private and tranquil life of the monks in their Dormitory to the three buildings which stand in close connection with it, and which, by the inextricable union of the Abbey with the Crown and State of England, bring us into direct contact with the outer world — the Treasury, the Chapter

THE TREASURY. House, and the Jewel House or Parliament Office. In the Eastern Cloister is an ancient double door, which can ¹ never be opened, except by the officers of the Government or their representatives (now the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, till recently, with the Comptroller of the Exchequer), bearing seven keys, some of them of huge dimensions, that alone could admit to the chamber within. That chamber, which belongs to the Norman ² substructions underneath the Dormitory, is no less than the Treasury of England ³ — a grand word, which, whilst it conveys us back to the most primitive times, is yet big with the destinies of the present and the future; that sacred building, in which were hoarded the treasures of the nation, in the days when the public robbers were literally thieves or highwaymen; that institution, which is now the keystone of the Commonwealth, of which the Prime Minister is the 'First Lord,' the Chancellor of the Exchequer

¹ The 'Standard' Act of 1866 vested the sole custody in the Treasury. The transfer of the keys of the Exchequer took place on May 31, 1866. I owe the exact statement of the facts relating to the Treasury to Sir Charles Trevelyan and Mr. Chisholm.

² *Gleanings*, pp. 9, 10.

³ In the seventeenth century there were, properly speaking, four Treasuries — the first, in the Court of Receipt; the second, in the New Palace of Westminster; the third, in 'the late dissolved Abbey of Westminster, in the old Chapter-house;' the fourth was 'in the Cloister of the said Abbey, locked with five locks and keys, being within two strong double doors.' (*Repertorie of Records*, printed 1631, pp. 15-92.) But the three first are, in order of time, later than the fourth.

the administrator, and which represents the wealth of the wealthiest nation in the world. Here it was that, probably almost immediately after the Conquest, the Kings determined to lodge their treasure, under the guardianship of the inviolable Sanctuary which St. Peter had consecrated, and the bones of the Confessor had sanctified. So, in the cave hewn out of the rocky side of the Hill of Mycenæ, is still to be seen, in the same vault, at once the Tomb and the Treasury of the House of Atreus. So, underneath the cliff of the Capitoline Hill, the Treasury of the Roman Commonwealth was the shrine of the most venerable of the Italian gods — the Temple of Saturn. So, in this 'Chapel of the Pyx,' as it is now called, the remains of an altar seem¹ to indicate its original sanctity; if it be not, as tradition loved to point out, the tomb of one who may well be called the genius of the place, the first predecessor of our careful Chancellors of the Exchequer, Hugolin, the chamberlain of the Confessor, whose strict ^{Tomb of Hugolin.} guardianship of the royal treasure kept even his master in awe.² Even if not there, he lies hard by, as we shall presently see. Hither were brought the most cherished possessions of the State. The Regalia of the Saxon monarchy; the Black Rood of St. Margaret ('the Holy Cross of Holyrood') from Scotland; the 'Crocis Gneyth' (or Cross of St. Neot) from Wales, deposited here by Edward I.;³ the Sceptre or Rod of Moses; the Ampulla of Henry IV.; the sword with which King Athelstane cut through the rock at Dunbar;⁴ the sword of Wayland Smith,⁵ by which Henry II. was knighted; the sword of Tristan, presented to John by the Em-

¹ The *piscina* shows it to have been an altar.

² See Chapter I. p. 17.

³ Palgrave's *Calendars*, i. p. cxvi.

⁴ Malmesbury, p. 149.

⁵ *Hist. Gaufridi Ducis*, p. 520.

peror;¹ the dagger which wounded Edward I. at Acre; the iron gauntlet worn by John of France when taken prisoner at Poitiers.²

In that close interpenetration of Church and State, of Palace and Abbey, of which we have before spoken, if at times the Clergy have suffered from the undue intrusion of the Crown, the Crown has also suffered from the undue intrusion of the Clergy. The summer of 1303 witnessed an event which probably affected the fortunes of the Treasury ever afterwards. The King

was on his Scottish wars, and had reached
The Rob-
bery, 1303. Linlithgow, when he heard the news that the immense hoard, on which he depended for his supplies, had been carried off. The chronicler of Westminster records, as matters of equal importance, that in that year 'Pope Boniface VIII. was stripped of all his goods, and a most audacious robber by himself secretly entered the Treasury of the King of England.'³ The chronicler vehemently repudiates the 'wicked suspicion' that any of the monks of Westminster were concerned in the transaction. But the facts are too stubborn. The chief robber, doubtless, was one Richard de Podlicote, who had already climbed by a ladder near the Palace Gate through a window of the Chapter House, and broken open the door of the Refectory, whence he carried off a considerable amount of silver plate. The more audacious attempt on the Treasury, whose position he had then ascertained, he concerted with friends partly within, partly without the Precincts.⁴ Any one who had

¹ Rymer, i. 99; iii. 174.

² Ibid. i. 197. — It may be as a memorial of this accumulation of sacred and secular treasures together, that at the Coronations the Lord Treasurer, with the Lord Chancellor, carried the sacred vessels of the altar. (Taylor's *Regality*, p. 172.)

³ Matthew of Westminster, A. D. 1303.

⁴ Ibid.

passed through the Cloisters in the early spring of that year must have been struck by the unusual appearance of a crop of hemp springing up over the grassy graves, and the gardener who came to mow the grass and carry off the herbage was constantly refused admittance. In that tangled hemp, sown and grown, it was believed, for this special purpose, was concealed the treasure after it was taken out. In two large black panniers it was conveyed away, across the river, to the 'King's Bridge,' or pier, where now is Westminster Bridge, by the monk Alexander of Pershore, and others, who returned in a boat to the Abbot's Mill, on the Mill Bank. The broken boxes, the jewels scattered on the floor, the ring with which Henry III. was consecrated, the privy seal of the King himself, revealed the deed to the astonished eyes of the royal officers when they came to investigate the rumour. The Abbot and forty-eight monks were taken to the Tower, and a long trial took place.¹ The Abbot and the rest of the fraternity were released, but the charge was brought home to the Subprior and the Sacrist. The architecture still bears its protest against the treason and the boldness of the robbers. The approach from the northern side was walled off, and the Treasury thus reduced by one-third.² Inside and outside of the door by which this passage is entered may be felt under the iron cramps fragments of what modern science has declared to be the skin of a human being. The same terrible lining was also affixed to the three doors of the Revestry³ in the adjoining compartment of the Abbey. These savage trophies are gen-

¹ *Gleanings*, pp. 282-288. The names of the monks are given in Dugdale, i. 312; Rymer, ii. 938.

² *Gleanings*, pp. 50-52.

³ Dart, i. 64; Akerman, ii. 26; *Gleanings*, pp. 48, 50.

erally said to belong to the Danes ; and, in fact, there is no period to which they can be so naturally referred as to this. They are, doubtless, 'the marks of the nails, and the hole in the side of the wall,' to which the Westminster chronicler somewhat irreverently appeals, to persuade 'the doubter' not to be faithless, but 'believing in the innocence of the monks.'¹ Rather they conveyed the same reminder to the clergy who paced the Cloisters or mounted to the Dormitory door, as the seat on which the Persian judges sate, formed out of the skin of their unjust predecessor, with the inscription, 'Remember whereon thou sittest.' Relics of a barbarous past, they contain a striking instance of terrific precautions against extinct evils. The perils vanish — the precautions remain. From that time, however, the charm of the Royal Treasury was broken, and its more valuable contents were removed elsewhere, although it was still under the protection of the Monastery.² Thenceforth the Westminster Treasury was employed only for guarding the Regalia, the Relics, the Records of Treaties,³ and the box or Pyx containing the Standard Trial Pieces of gold and silver, used for determining the justness of the gold and silver coins of the realm issued from the Royal Mint. One by one these glories have passed from it. The Relics doubtless disappeared at the Reformation ; the Treaties, as we shall presently see. Except on the eve of the Coronations — when they are deposited in the Dean's custody either in the Jerusalem Chamber, or in one of the private

¹ Matthew of Westminster, A. D. 1303.

² The Exchequer paid ten shillings in 1519 to Mr. Fulwood, one of the monks, for mending the hinges, and supplying a key of the Treasury door. (State Papers, 1519.)

³ Palgrave, i. p. lxxvi.

closets in his Library—the Regalia have, since the Restoration, been transferred to the Tower.¹ The Trial Pieces alone remain, to be visited once every five years by the officers before mentioned, for the ‘Trial of the Pyx.’² But it continues, like the enchanted cave of Toledo or Covadonga, the original hiding-place of England’s gold, an undoubted relic of the Confessor’s architecture, a solid fragment of the older fabric of the monarchy—overshadowed, but not absorbed, by the ecclesiastical influences around it, a testimony at once to the sacredness of the Abbey and to the independence of the Crown.

The Chapter House has a more complex history than the Treasury, and in some respects it epitomises the vicissitudes of the Abbey itself. Its earliest period,

¹ Down to the time of the Commonwealth, the Treasury, as containing the Regalia, had been in the custody of the Chapter, as before of the Convent. On January 23, 1643, a motion was made in the Commons that the Dean, Subdean, and Prebendaries should be required to deliver up the keys; and the question put whether, upon the refusal of the keys, the door of that place should be broken open. So strong was the deference to the ancient rights of the Chapter that, even in that excited time, the question was lost by 58 against 37; and when the doors were finally forced open, it was only on the express understanding that an inventory be taken, new locks put on the doors, and nothing removed till upon further order of the House; and even this was carried only by 42 against 41. (*Cobbett’s Parliamentary History*, iii. 118. See Chapter VI.)

² The Pyx, which sometimes gives its name to this chapel, is the box kept at the Mint, in which specimens of the coinage are deposited. The word ‘Pyx’ (originally the Latin for ‘box,’ and derived from the pyxis or boxtree) is now limited to this depository of coins in the English Mint, and to the receptacle of the Host in Roman Catholic Churches. The Trial is the examination of the coins contained in the Pyx by assay and comparison with the Trial Plates or Pieces. See an account of it in *Brayley’s Londiniana*, iv. 145–147; and in the ‘Report to the Controller-General of the Exchequer upon the Trial of the Pyx, etc., dated February 10, 1866; by Mr. H. W. Chisholm, Chief Clerk of the Exchequer.’

doubtless, goes back to the Confessor. Of this no vestiges remain, unless in the thickness of the walls in the Crypt beneath.¹ But even from this early time it became the first nucleus of the burials of the Abbey. Here, at least during the rebuilding of the Church by Henry III., if not before, on the south side of the entrance, were laid Edwin, first Abbot and friend of the Confessor, in a marble tomb;² and close beside and with him, moved thither from the Cloister, Sebert, the supposed founder of Westminster, St. Paul's, and Cambridge;³ Ethelgoda, his wife, and Rricula, his sister; Hugolin, the chamberlain of the Confessor; and Sulcard, the first historian of the Monastery. At a later period it contained two children of Edward III., who were subsequently removed to the Chapel of St. Edmund.⁴ Round its eastern and northern walls are still found stone coffins,⁵

¹ See Mr. Scott's Essay on the Chapter House in *Old London*, pp. 146, 156.

² The tomb was still visible in the time of Flete, from whose manuscript account this is taken. He also gives the epitaph and verses, written on a tablet above the tomb of Edwin:—

Iste locellus habet bina cadavera claustro ;
 Uxor Seberti, prima tamen minima ;
 Defractâ capitis testâ, clarus Hugolinus
 A claustro noviter hic translatus erat ;
 Abbas Edwinus et Sulcardus cœnobita ;
 Sulcardus major est. — Deus assit eis.

From these lines it may be inferred that Ethelgoda's was less than Hugolin's, and Edwin's than Sulcard's, and that Hugolin's had had its head broken.

³ For the removal of Sebert's supposed remains from the Chapter House to the Abbey itself see Chapter I., p. 13.

⁴ It has been sometimes said that Eleanor, the youngest daughter of Edward I., by his second wife Margaret, but called after his lamented Eleanor, was buried in the Chapter House (1311). But she appears (*Green's Princesses*, iii. 64) to have been taken to Beaulieu.

⁵ Two such were found in 1867.

which show it to have been the centre of a consecrated cemetery.

We have already seen the determination of Henry III. that the Abbey Church should be of superlative beauty. In like manner the Chapter House was to be, ^{Rebuilt by Henry III. 1250.} as Matthew Paris expressively says — meaning, no doubt, that the word should be strictly taken — ‘incomparable.’¹ John of St. Omer was ordered to make a lectern for it, which was to be, if possible, more beautiful than that at St. Albans.² Its structure implies the extraordinary care and thought bestowed upon it.³ It was still⁴ regarded as unfinished at the close of the fifteenth century. It has three peculiarities, each shared by only one other building ^{its peculiarities.} of the kind in England. It is, except Lincoln, the largest Chapter House in the kingdom. It is, except Wells, the only one which has the advantage of a spacious Crypt underneath, to keep it dry and warm. It is, except Worcester, the only instance of a round or octagonal Chapter House, in the place of the rectangular or longitudinal buildings usually attached to Benedictine monasteries.⁵ The approach to it was unlike that of any other. The Abbey Church itself was made to disgorge, as it were, one-third of its Southern Transept to form the Eastern Cloister, by which it is reached from the Chancel. Over its entrance, from a mass of sculpture, gilding, and painting, the Virgin Mother looked down, both within and with-

¹ *Gleanings*, p. 39.

² *Vet. Mon.* vi. 4, 25.

³ The mathematical proportions are strictly observed. The tiles on the floor are of the most elaborate patterns; one is a miniature of the original rose window of the South Transept. (G. G. Scott.)

⁴ Cartulary.

⁵ All the other octagonal Chapter Houses are attached to cathedrals. (*Gent. Mag.* 1866, pt. i. p. 4.)

out;¹ and there was also, significant of the purposes of the edifice,² a picture of the Last Judgment. The vast windows, doubtless, were filled with stained-glass.³ Its walls were painted in the reign of Edward IV. by a conventual artist, Brother John of Northampton, with a series of rude frescoes from the Apocalypse, commencing with four scenes from the legendary life of St. John,⁴ and ending with a large group of figures, of which it is difficult to decipher the design. At the eastern end were five stalls, occupied by the Abbot, the three Priors, and the Subprior, more richly decorated, and of an earlier date.

The original purposes of the Chapter House were quaintly defined by Abbot Ware immediately after its erection. 'It is the Little House, in which
its monastic purposes. the Convent meets to consult for its welfare. It is well called the *Capitulum* (Chapter House), because it is the *caput litium* (the head of strifes), for there strifes are ended. It is the workshop of the Holy Spirit, in which the sons of God are gathered together. It is the house of confession, the house of obedience, mercy, and forgiveness, the house of unity, peace, and tranquillity, where the brethren make satisfaction for their faults.'⁵

These uses seem to be indicated in the scrolls on the Angels' wings above the Abbot's stall, on which are written *confessio, satisfactio, munditia carnis, puritas mentis*, and the other virtues arranged beneath.

To this, at least once a week, the whole Convent

¹ Ware, pp. 283, 419.

² See Cartulary.

³ The exact date of the progress of the building is given by the accounts for the canvas to fill up the empty windows (1253).

⁴ Cartulary. This date confirms the previous conjecture of Sir Charles Eastlake (*History of Oil Painting*, p. 180).

⁵ Ware, p. 311.

came in procession. They marched in double file through the vestibule, of which the floor still bears traces of their feet. They bowed, on ^{Capitular meetings.} their entrance, to the Great Crucifix, which rose, probably, immediately before them over the stalls at the east end, where the Abbot and his four chief officers were enthroned.

When they were all seated on the stone seats round, perfect freedom of speech was allowed. Now was the opportunity for making any complaints, and for confessing faults. A story was long remembered of the mistake made by a foolish Prior in Abbot Papillon's time, who confessed out of his proper turn.¹ The warning of the great Benedictine oracle, Anselm, against the slightest violation of rules, was emphatically repeated.² No signals were to be made across the building.³ The guilty parties were to acknowledge their faults at the step before the Abbot's Stall. Here, too, was the scene of judgment and punishment. The details are such as recall a rough school rather than a grave ecclesiastical community. The younger monks were flogged elsewhere.⁴ But the others, stripped⁵ wholly or from the waist upwards, or in their shirts girt close round them, were scourged in public here, with rods of single or double thickness, by the 'mature brothers,' who formed the Council of the Abbot (but always excluding the accuser from the office), the criminal himself sitting on a three-legged bench — probably before the central pillar, which was used as a judgment-seat or whipping-post.⁶ If flogging was deemed insuffi-

¹ Ware, p. 316.² Ibid. pp. 318, 331.³ Ibid. p. 321.⁴ Ibid. pp. 348, 366, 383.⁵ Ibid. p. 380.⁶ Fosbroke's *Monachism*, p. 222; *Matt. Paris*, p. 848; *Piers Plowman*, 2819; Ware.

cient, the only further punishment was expulsion. The terrors of immurement or torture seem unknown.

In this stately building the chief ceremonials of the Abbey were arranged, as they are now in the Jerusalem Chamber. Here were fixed the preliminary services of the anniversaries of Henry VII.; and the Chantry monks, and the scholars to be sent at his cost to the universities, were appointed.¹

It has been well observed,² that the Chapter House is an edifice and an institution almost exclusively English. In the original Basilica the Apse was the assembly-place, where the Bishop sate in the centre of his clergy, and regulated ecclesiastical Chamber of the House of Commons. affairs. Such an arrangement was well suited for the delivery of a pastoral address, and for the rule of a despotic hierarchy, as in the churches of the Continent; but it was not in accordance with the Anglo-Saxon idea of a deliberative assembly, which should discuss every question as a necessary preliminary to its being promulgated as a law. It was therefore by a natural sequence of thought that the Council Chamber of the Abbey of Westminster became the Parliament House of the English nation, the cradle of representative and constitutional government, of Parliament, Legislative Chambers, and Congress, throughout the world.

At the very time when Henry III. was building the Abbey — nay, in part as the direct consequence of the means which he took to build it — a new institution was called into existence, which first was harboured within the adjoining Palace, and then rapidly became too large for the Palace to contain. As the building

¹ Malcolm, p. 222.

² Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*, ii. 53.

of the new St. Peter's at Rome, by the indulgences issued to provide for its erection, produced the Reformation, so the building of this new St. Peter's at Westminster, by the enormous sums which the King exacted from his subjects, to gratify his artistic or his devotional sentiment, produced the House of Commons. And the House of Commons found its first independent home in the 'incomparable' Chapter House of Westminster. Whatever may be the value of Wren's statement, that 'the Abbot lent it to the King for the use of the Commons, on condition that the Crown should repair it,'¹ there can be no question that, from the time of the separation of the Commons from the Lords, it became their habitual meeting-place.² The exact moment of the separation cannot perhaps be ascertained. In the first instance, the two Houses met in Westminster Hall. But they parted as early as the eleventh year of Edward I.³ From that time the Lords met in the Painted Chamber in the Palace; the Commons, whenever they sate in London, within the precincts of the Abbey. Such secular assemblies had already assembled under its shadow, though not yet within the Chapter House. We find the Commons of London in the Cloister churchyard in 1263.⁴ The vast oblong of the Refectory naturally lent itself to large gatherings of this kind. There, in a chamber only

Rise of the
House of
Commons,
1265.

Separate
Meetings of
the House of
Commons,
1282.

Commons of
London in
the Cloister,
1263.

¹ Elmes's *Life of Wren*, Appendix, p. 110.

² It is conjectured by Carter (*Ancient Sculptures*, p. 75) that the Jerusalem Chamber of the Abbot was the Antioch Chamber of Henry III. (p. 417), and made over by the Crown in exchange for the Chapter House. But there is no sufficient ground for this supposition.

³ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, iii. 54.

⁴ *Liber de Antiq. Legibus*, p. 19.

inferior in beauty and size to Westminster Hall, Henry III. held a great Council of State in 1244.¹ There, in an assembly, partly of laity, partly of clergy,² Edward I. insisted on a subsidy of a half of their possessions. The consternation had been so great, that the Dean of St. Paul's had, in his endeavour to remonstrate, dropped down dead at King Edward's feet. But 'the King passed over this event with indifferent eyes,' and persisted the more vehemently in his demands. 'The consequence was that, . . . after eating sour grapes, at last, when they were assembled in the Refectory of the monks of Westminster, a knight, John Havering by name, rose up and said, "My venerable men, this is the demand of the King — the annual half of the revenues of your chamber. And if any one objects to this, let him rise up in the middle of this assembly, that his person may be recognised and taken note of, as he is guilty of treason against the King's peace."' There was silence at once. 'When they heard this, all the prelates were dispirited, and immediately agreed to the King's demands.'³ In the Refectory, accordingly, the Commons were convened, under Edward II., when they impeached Piers Gaveston; and also on several occasions during the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V.⁴ But their usual resort was 'in their ancient place the House of the Chapter in the Great Cloister of the Abbey of West-

Councils of
State in the
Refectory,
1244;
1294;

usually in
the Chapter
House.

¹ Matt. Paris, 639.

² Chiefly the Clergy, and, therefore, perhaps the Convocations, September 21, 1294. (Parry's *Parliaments*, p. 56.)

³ Matthew of Westminster, 1294.

⁴ 18 Richard II. *Parliament Rolls*, ii. 329; 20 Richard II. *ibid.* iii. 338; 5 Henry IV. *ibid.* 523; 2 Henry V. *ibid.* iv. 34; 3 Henry V. *ibid.* 70.

minster.¹ On one occasion a Parliament was summoned there, in 1256, even before the birth of the House of Commons, to grant a subsidy for Sicily.² It is from the reign of Edward III., however, that these meetings of the Commons were fixed within its walls. With this coincides the date of those curious decorations which in that age seemed specially appropriate. 'Piers Plowman's'³ vision of a Chapter House was as of a great church, carven and covered, and quaintly entailed, with seemly ceilings set aloft, *as a Parliament House painted about*. The Seraphs that adorn the chief stalls, the long series of Apocalyptic pictures which were added to the lesser stalls, were evidently thought the fitting accompaniments of the great Council Chamber. The Speaker,⁴ no doubt, took his place in the Abbot's Stall facing the entrance. The burgesses and knights who came up reluctantly from the country, to the unwelcome charge of their public business, must have sate round the building—those who had the best seats, in the eighty stalls of the monks, the others arranged as best they could. To the central pillar were attached placards, libellous or otherwise, to attract the attention of the members.⁵

The Acts of Parliament which the Chapter House witnessed derive a double significance from the locality.

¹ 25 Edward III. *Parl. Rolls*, ii. 237; 50 Edward III. *ibid.* 322, 327; 51 Edward III. *ibid.* 363; 1 Richard II. *ibid.* iii. 5; 2 Richard II. *ibid.* 33; 8 Richard II. *ibid.* 185. *Coke's Institutes*, iv. 1.

² *Ann. Burt.* 386; *Hody*, 346. (*Parry*, 37.)

³ *Piers Plowman's Creed*, l. 396, &c.

⁴ The first authentic Speaker, Peter de la Mare, was elected in 1377.

⁵ See the libel, of which two copies were so affixed, against Alexander Nevile, Archbishop of York in the time of Richard II. (*Arch.* xvi. 80.)

A doubtful tradition¹ records that the monks of Westminster complained of the disturbance of their devotions

by the noise and tumult of the adjoining Parliament. Unquestionably there is a strange irony, if indeed it be not rather a profounder wisdom, in the thought that within this consecrated precinct were passed those memorable statutes which restrained the power of that very body under whose shelter they were discussed. Here the Commons must

Statute *Circumspecte Agatis*, 1286.
Statute of Provisions, 1350.
Statute of Præmunire, 1393.

have assented to the dry humour of the statute *Circumspecte Agatis*, which, whilst it appears to grant the lesser privileges of the clergy, virtually withholds the larger.² Here also were enacted the Statutes of Provisions and of Præmunire,³ which, as Fuller says, first 'pared the Pope's nails to the quick, and then cut off his fingers.' These ancient walls heard 'the Commons aforesaid say the things so attempted be clearly against the King's crown and regality, used and approved of the time of all his progenitors, and declare that they and all the liege Commons of the same realm will stand with our Lord the King and his said crown and his regality in the cases aforesaid, and in all other cases attempted against him, his crown, and his regality, in

Convention of Henry V., 1421.

all points to live and to die.' Here also was convened the Assembly, half secular and half ecclesiastical, when Henry V. summoned the chief Benedictine ecclesiastics to consider the abuses of their

¹ It is mentioned in Montalembert's *Moines de l'Occident*, iv. 432; but I have never been able to verify it.

² 'Acknowledged as a statute, though not drawn in the form of one.' Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ii. 317; Fuller's *Church History*, A. D. 1285.

³ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ii. 339, 356; Fuller's *Church History*, A. D. 1350; Statutes, 25 Edward III. c. 6, 16 Richard II. c. 5.

order, consequent on the number of young Abbots who had lately succeeded, after an unusual mortality amongst their elders. The King himself was present, with his four councillors. He entered humbly enough (*satis humiliter*), and with a low bow to the assembly sate down, doubtless in the Abbot's Chair, and heard a discourse on the subject by Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter. Sixty Abbots and Priors were there, seated, we may suppose, in the stalls, and more than 300 monks in the body of the house. The King then recommended the needful reforms, and assured them of his protection.¹ Here, in order to be out of the reach of the jurisdiction of his brother Primate, ^{Wolsey's Legatine Court, 1527.} Wolsey, as Cardinal Legate, held his Legatine Court, and with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates sate in judgment on Thomas Bilney and Dr. Barnes, both of them afterwards² burnt for their Protestant opinions. Tonstal, Bishop of London, sate as his commissary, and received there a humble recantation by a London priest, of the heretical practices 'of Martin Luther and his sect.'³ Here, ^{The Acts of the Reformation.} finally, were enacted the scenes in which, during the first epoch of the Reformation, the House of Commons took so prominent a part by pressing forward those Church of England statutes which laid the 'foundations of the new State,' which 'found England in dependency upon a foreign power, and left it a free nation;' which gave the voice of the nation for the first time its free expression in the councils of the Church.⁴

¹ Walsingham, p. 337; Tyler, ii. 67; Harleian MS., No. 6064. (Malcolm's *Londinium*, p. 230.)

² Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, iv. p. 622.

³ Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* i. 109. See Chapter VI.

⁴ Froude, ii. 455, 456.

Within the Chapter House must thus have been passed the first Clergy Discipline Act, the first Clergy Residence Act, and chief of all, the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Submission. Here, to acquiesce in that Act, as we shall see, met the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury.¹ Beneath that vaulted roof and before that central pillar must have been placed the famous Black Book, which sealed the fate of all the monasteries of England, including the Abbey of Westminster close by, and which struck such a thrill of horror through the House of Commons when they heard its contents.²

The last time that the Commons sate in the building was on the last day of the life of Henry VIII. The last Act passed was the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk; and they must have been sitting here when the news reached them that the King had died that morning, and while those preparations for the coronation of Prince Edward — whom King Henry had designed should be crowned before his own death, in order to secure his succession — were going on in the Abbey, which was summarily broken off when the news came that the King himself was dead.³

In the year 1540, when the Abbey was dissolved, the Chapter House became, what it has ever since continued to be, absolutely public and national property. It is uncertain where the Dean and Chapter, who then succeeded, held their first meetings. But they never could have entered the Ancient Chapter House by right in the performance of any portion of their duties; and the Jerusalem Chamber, for all practical purposes,

Transfer
of the
Capitular
meetings
to the
Jerusalem
Chamber,
and of the
House of
Commons to
St. Stephen's.

¹ Wake's *State of the Church*, App. pp. 219, 220. See Chapter VI.

² Froude, iv. 520.

³ See Chapter II. p. 96.

soon became 'our Chapter House.'¹ In 1547, in the first year of Edward VI, the Commons moved to the Chapel of St. Stephen,² in the Palace of Westminster. This splendid edifice had become vacant in consequence of the suppression of the collegiate Chapter of St. Stephen, which occupied the same position in regard to Westminster that the Chapel of St. George occupied to Windsor. From this period we enter on the third stage of the history of the Chapter House,³ when the Government appropriated it to the preservation of the Public

¹ The date of the earliest Chapter Order Book is 1642. The Chapters are there said to be held, and the Deans to be installed, 'in the Chapter House,' as Cox was in 1549. It was in 1555 that the Jerusalem Chamber was first used as a Chapter House. In the interval between 1540 and 1555 it was treated as a separate habitation, 'the house in the which Mother Jone doth dwell.' (Walcott's *Inventory*, p. 47.) There is no express indication of any change till 1637, when it is said, a 'Chapter was holden, in the usual place of meeting, for the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in Westminster;' on December 13, 1638, 'a Chapter is holden in Hierusalem Chamber;' in February 16, 1638-39, 'at the accustomed place.' The clause in all leases, as far back as can be traced, and to the present day, is, 'Given in the Chapter House of the Dean and Chapter at Westminster.'

² The Chapel of St. Stephen was founded by King Stephen. It was rebuilt by Edward III., as a thank-offering after his victories, on a yet more splendid scale than St. George's at Windsor. Its Canons gave their name to Canon Row, sometimes also called St. Stephen's Alley. Between this collegiate body and that of the Abbey long disputes of jurisdiction raged, till they were finally settled in Abbot Esteney's time, as recorded with much curious detail in his *Niger Quartenar*. p. 118. After the Dissolution it became the property of the Crown (by 2 Edward VI. c. 14), and was granted for other purposes, probably from the ruin into which Westminster Palace had then recently fallen from fire.

³ The only connection of the Chapter with the Chapter House was retained in two adjoining offices. These were erected by the Government on ground belonging to the Dean and Chapter, who granted a lease for forty years, from Michaelmas 1800, to W. Chinnery, Esq. (as nominee on behalf of the Treasury). This lease expired on Michaelmas Day 1840. Since that time the Office of Works has paid a rent of £10 : 1 : 4 to the Dean and Chapter.

Records. These records were afterwards still further augmented at the close of the seventeenth century.

The Chapter House used as a Record Office, 1547-1863.

Down to that time many of the documents were kept in the Pyx Chapel; but 'about the year 1697 one of the Prebendaries of Westminster having built a copper for boiling, just under one of the windows of the Treasury, such a dampness was thereby occasioned as very much injured the Records, which occasioned the removal of them into the Chapter House.'¹ And again, an alarming fire, which in 1731 broke out in the Cloisters, occasioned the removal of whatever documents had been left in the Chapel of the Pyx, for safety, into the Chapter House;² and in order to fit the building for this purpose an upper storey was proposed. Sir Christopher Wren had in 1705 protested and 'absolutely refused to build any gallery for such use;' but now it was carried out, for in 1740 the groined roof was taken down as ruinous.³ There was a constant and ineffectual complaint maintained by the House of Commons against the 'eternal brewhouse and the eternal wash-house' of the Chapter, as endangering the safety of the records. It began in 1732, and lasted till 1832, and was the subject of a comical speech by Charles Buller.

But even this period is not without interest in itself, and invests the Chapter House with another series of delightful historical associations. The unsightly galleries, which long obstructed it, once contained the Domesday Book and other like treasures of English

¹ Extract from note in pocketbook of Dr. G. Harbin, librarian at Longleat, 1710.

² Palgrave's *Calendars*, vol. i. pp. cxxv.-cxxix. See Chapter VI.

³ Felix Summerly's *Handbook of Westminster Abbey*, 43.

History. Here was nourished the glory of three names for ever dear to English archæology — Arthur Agarde, Thomas Rymer, and Francis Palgrave.¹

Arthur Agarde was 'a man known to Selden to be most painful, industrious, and sufficient in things of this nature,' and to Camden as '*antiquarius insignis*.' He was one of the original members of the Society of Antiquaries, and there laboured in company with Archbishop Parker, Sir Robert Cotton (who became his intimate friend), two whom he must often have met in the Cloisters, Lancelot Andrewes as Dean, and Camden as Headmaster of Westminster School. Here he toiled over the Domesday Book and the Antiquities of the Parliament which had assembled in the scene of his labours. Here he composed the 'Compendium' of the Records in the adjacent Treasury, where some of the chests still remain inscribed as he left them; and here, in the Cloisters, by the door of the Chapter House, he caused the monument to himself and his wife to be erected before his death, in 1615, in his seventy-fifth year — '*Recordorum Regiorum hic *prope* depositorum diligens scrutator*.'

Arthur
Agarde,
buried Aug.
24, 1615.

Thomas Rymer, the historiographer of King William III., was a constant pilgrim to the Chapter House for the compilation of his valuable work on the Treaties of England. So carefully closed was the Record Office itself, that he had to sit outside in the vestibule; and there, day after day, out of the papers and parchments that were doled out to him, formed the solid folios of 'Rymer's *Fœdera*.'²

Thomas
Rymer, died
1713.

Sir Francis Palgrave — who can forget the delight of exploring under his guidance the treasures of which

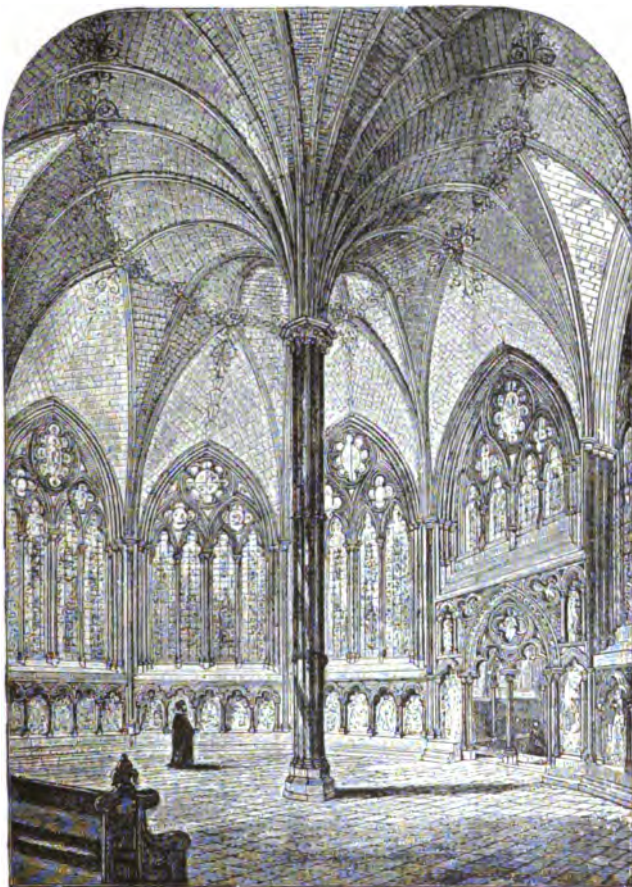
¹ *Biog. Brit.* i. 66, 347; xiv. 164.

² Mr. Burt, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1859, pp. 336–343.

he was the honoured guardian? So dearly did he value the connection which, through the Keepership of the Records, he had established with this venerable edifice, that, lest he should seem to have severed the last link, he insisted, even after the removal of the Records, on the replacement of the direction outside the door, which there remained long after his death — ‘All letters and parcels addressed to Sir F. Palgrave are to be sent to Rolls Court, Chancery Lane.’

On the night of the fire which consumed the Houses of Parliament in 1834,¹ when thousands were gathered below, watching the progress of the flames, when the waning affection for our ancient national monuments seemed to be revived in that crisis of their fate, when, as the conflagration was driven by the wind towards Westminster Hall, the innumerable faces of that vast multitude, lighted up in the broad glare with more than the light of day, were visibly swayed by the agitation of the devouring breeze, and one voice, one prayer seemed to go up from every upturned countenance, ‘O save the Hall!’ — on that night two small figures might have been seen standing on the roof of the Chapter House overlooking the terrific blaze, parted from them only by the narrow space of Old Palace Yard. One was the Keeper of the Records, the other was Dean Ireland. They had climbed up through the hole in the roof to witness the awful scene. Suddenly a gust of wind swept the flames in that direction. Palgrave, with all the enthusiasm of the antiquarian and of his own eager temperament, turned to the Dean, and suggested that they should descend into the Chapter House and carry off its most valued treasures into

¹ I owe this story partly to Lord Hatherley, who witnessed it from below; and partly to Sir Francis Palgrave himself.



THE CHAPTER HOUSE AS RESTORED BY SIR GILBERT SCOTT.

the Abbey for safety. Dean Ireland, with the caution belonging at once to his office and his character, answered that he could not think of doing so without applying to Lord Melbourne, the First Lord of the Treasury.

It was a true, though grotesque, expression of the actual facts of the case. The Government were the masters of the Chapter House. On them thus devolved the duty of its preservation, when, after its various vicissitudes, it once more became vacant by the removal of the Records to the Rolls House. Then, in 1865, in the eight hundredth anniversary of its own foundation, in the six hundredth anniversary of the House of Commons, which it had so long sheltered, a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries was held within its disfigured and deserted walls, to urge the duty of restoring it to its pristine beauty. Under the auspices of Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Cowper, First Commissioner of Works, the adequate sum was granted by Parliament, and the venerable building has become one of the most splendid trophies of the archæological and architectural triumphs of the Nineteenth Century. Its stained windows will represent the scenes which have interwoven English history with the Abbey. Its tables contain the various local illustrations of Westminster.

Not far from the Chapter House and Treasury, and curiously following their fortunes, is an ancient square 'Tower,' which may once have served the purpose of a monastic prison, but which was sold to the Crown in the last year of Edward III.¹ It bears in its architecture the marks of the great builder of

The Restoration of the Chapter House, 1865.

The Jewel House.

¹ Widmore, 174, 231.

that time—Abbot Littlington.¹ For many years it was the King's Jewel House. It then became 'the Parliament office,'—that is, the depository of the Acts of Parliament, which had been passed either in the adjacent Chapter House or in the Chapel of St. Stephen. In 1864² they were transferred to the far grander Tower, bearing the name of Queen Victoria, and exhibiting the same enlarged proportions to the humble Tower of the Plantagenets, that the Empire of our gracious Sovereign bears to their diminutive kingdom. But the gray fortress still remains, and with the Treasury and the Chapter House forms the triple link of the English State and Church with the venerable past. Comparing the concentration of English historical edifices at Westminster with those at Rome under the Capitol, as the Temple of Saturn finds its likeness in the Treasury, and the Temple of Concord (where the Senate assembled) in the Chapter House and Refectory, so the massive walls of the Tabularium, where the decrees of the Senate were carefully guarded, correspond to the Square Tower of the Parliament office, overlooking the garden of the Precincts from which it has long been parted.

From the Jewel House, across the end of the Garden, was a pathway to the stream which flowed into the Thames—used chiefly for processions on Rogation days and other like holidays—over a piece of ground which

¹ For the architectural description of it, see *Gleanings*, p. 226. It is now used as the depository of the standards of weights and measures, in connection with the Trial of the Pyx.

² By this removal was recovered the long-lost Prayer-book of 1662, which had been detached from the Act of Uniformity, and had lain hid in some obscure corner of the Parliament Office. It was in 1864 deposited in the Chief Clerk's Office in the House of Lords, where it was found in 1867.

belonged to the Prior, but which was left as a kind of waste plot, from its exposure to the floods both of stream and river. This corner of the Precincts was the scene of a curious story, which was, no doubt, often told in the Cloister and Refectory. Not far from the Jewel House was the cell of the hermit who¹ formed an adjunct of the monastic community — and was, in successive generations, consulted by Henry III., Richard II., and Henry V. Its occupant, at the close of the fourteenth century, was buried in a leaden coffin, in a small adjacent chapel. A certain William Ushborne, keeper of the adjacent Palace, suborned a plumber of the convent to dig up the sacred bones, which he tossed into the well in the centre of the cloister-cemetery, and had the leaden coffin conveyed by its iron clasps to his office. The sacrilege was first visited on the poor plumber, who was seized with a sudden faintness and died in Ushborne's house. This, however, was but the beginning of Ushborne's crimes. He afterwards contrived to appropriate the waste marsh just described, which he turned into a garden, with a pond to preserve his own fresh fish. On a certain fast day, the Vigil of St. Peter ad Vincula, the day before the great conventual feast on the fat bucks of Windsor—he invited his Westminster neighbours to a supper. Out of the pond he had fished a large pike. He himself began upon it, and after two or three mouthfuls he screamed out, 'Look — look — here is come a fellow who is going to choke me;' and thus caught, 'without the viaticum,' by the very fish which had been the cause of his sacrilege, he died on the spot and was buried in the Choir of St. Margaret's. It was a matter of unfeigned satis-

The An-
chorite.

Ushborne
and his
fishpond.

¹ Lestrangle, in *Norfolk Archaeological Journal*.

faction that his successor, though bearing the same ill-omened name of William, was a highly respectable man, 'good and simple,' who made many benefactions to the Abbey, and was buried just within the Church, by the basin for holy water at the Cloister door.¹ There was also a succession of female anchorites ('my Lady anchoress'), who were the laundresses of the sacred vestments.

Leaving these haunted spots, we return to the Garden, which had been thus invaded and avenged. The prior's portion of it was remarkable as having been planted with damson trees.² But the larger part of it, now the College Garden, was the pleasure-ground of the Infirmary, corresponding to what at Canterbury is now called 'The Oaks,' in which the sick monks took exercise. The Infirmary itself, which has almost totally disappeared, was almost a second monastery. The fragments of its Norman arches show that it belonged to the original establishment of the Confessor. Hither came the processions of the Convent to see the sick brethren;³ and were greeted by a blazing fire in the Hall, and long rows of candles in the Chapel.⁴ Here, although not only here, were conducted the constant bleedings of the monks.⁵ Here, in the Chapel, the young monks were privately whipped. Here the invalids were soothed by music.⁶ Here also lived the seven 'play-fellows'⁷ (*sympectæ*), the name given to the elder monks, who, after they had passed fifty years in the monastic profession, were exempted from all the ordi-

¹ Cartulary.

² Ware, pp. 479, 483.

³ Ibid. pp. 425, 438, 440, 444.

⁴ Ibid. p. 343.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 264, 265.

⁷ Ibid. p. 475.

nary regulations, were never told anything unpleasant, and themselves took the liberty of examining and censuring everything.¹

A few arcades and pillars mark the position of the ancient Hall and Chapel of the Infirmary, which here, as elsewhere, has been absorbed into the modern capitular buildings. The Chapel, of which the proportions can be imagined from the vast remains of the corresponding edifice at Canterbury, was dedicated to St. Catherine. This, rather than the Abbey Church itself, was used for such general ecclesiastical solemnities as took place in the Precincts. Of the thirty-eight² episcopal consecrations described before the Reformation as performed in 'Westminster,' where any special locality is designated, we usually find the Chapel of St. Cath-

¹ The Chronicle so called of Ingulph, A.D. 974; Ducange (*voce Sempecta*); Fosbroke's *Monachism*, 265.

² For the accurate statement of these consecrations I am indebted to Professor Stubbs. Those which are recorded as taking place in 'Westminster,' but without the specification of particular localities, are of Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, in 1115; David of Bangor in 1120, Robert Chichester of Exeter in 1138, Roger of Pontevyne in 1154, Adam of St. Asaph in 1175, Henslow, William de Blois of Worcester in 1218, John Fountain of Ely in 1220, Geoffrey de Burgh of Ely in 1225, Albert of Armagh in 1248, Louis de Beaumont of Durham in 1318, Alexander Neville of York in 1374, Walter Skirlow of Lichfield in 1386, Alexander Bache of St. Asaph in 1390. It is natural to suppose that these were consecrated within the precincts of the Abbey, and, if so, probably in St. Catherine's Chapel. But the specification of the Palaces of the Bishops of Carlisle, Durham, and York, and of the Chapel of St. Stephen for the remaining eleven, between 1327 and 1535, makes it doubtful whether some of the earlier ones may not also have taken place in private chapels. Becket's election to the primacy, 1162, was recited and confirmed by Henry de Blois in the Refectory. (Diceto, 533.) Baldwin (1184) was elected by the royal party against the Canterbury monks, in a tumultuous meeting in the Chapter House of Westminster. In order to forestall their adversaries, they rushed at once with a *Te Deum* to the Abbey, kissed Baldwin before the altar, and returned him to the king as elected. (Benedict, 415.)

erine. Fifteen¹ certainly, probably more, were there consecrated. One, William de Blois, was consecrated to Lincoln, before the High Altar, in 1203. Abbot Milling was consecrated to Hereford in the Lady Chapel in 1474, a few years before its destruction by Henry VII.

Besides these more individual solemnities, St. Catharine's Chapel witnessed the larger part of the provincial Councils of Westminster.² More than twenty such were held at various times. The most remarkable were as follows:—

<p>Councils of West- minster.</p> <p>Under Lan- franco, 1076.</p> <p>Under Anselm, 1102.</p>	<p>In 1076 was the assembly for the deposition of Wolfstan, already described. In 1102 Anselm held the mixed council of lords spiritual and temporal, to issue canons against simony, against marriage of the clergy, against the long Saxon hair of laymen, against untrained clergy, against archdeacons who were not</p>
<p>1124.</p> <p>1182.</p> <p>1127.</p>	<p>deacons, as well as other graver offences. Here these same denunciations were continued in three councils held at Westminster shortly</p>

¹ These were Hugh of Lincoln, afterwards canonised, and William of Worcester, in 1186; Hubert Fitzwalter and Herbert le Poer of Salisbury, and Godfrey of Winchester, in 1189 and 1194; Robert of Bangor in 1197, Eustace of Ely in 1198, William of London in 1199, Geoffrey Hennelaw of St. David's in 1203, John Gray of Norwich, and Giles Braose of Hereford in 1200, Eustace of London in 1221, William Brewer of Exeter and Ralph Neville of Chichester in 1224, Thomas Bluneville of Norwich in 1226. The use of this Chapel is illustrated by the fact that the only consecration that took place at Reading (of Le Poer to Chichester, June 25, 1215) was in like manner in the Infirmary Chapel of the Abbey of Reading.

² The twenty-four Councils of Westminster are given in Moroni's *Dizionario della Erudizione* ('Westminster') from 1066 to 1413. Professor Stubbs has called my attention to the opinion of Mr. Kemble, that Cloveshoe, the scene of the Saxon Council in 747, was 'at Westminster.' But he has shown that the inference is mistaken, and that the 'Westminster' in question was probably Westbury in Worcestershire.

after, under Cardinal John of Crema, Williams Archbishop of Canterbury, and Albric of Ostia, all legates.¹ Here, four years after the murder of Becket, in the presence of Walter Humez, for the first time wearing the full insignia of mitred Abbot, took place the celebrated contest between

Struggle
of the
Primates,
1175.

Richard Archbishop of Canterbury and Roger Archbishop of York, in the struggle for precedence, which on the occasion of the coronation of Henry IV.'s son had just led to that catastrophe. 'The Pope's Legate was present, on whose right hand sate Richard of Canterbury, as in his proper place; when in springs Roger of York, and, finding Canterbury² so seated, fairly sits him down on Canterbury's lap — a baby too big to be danced thereon; yea, Canterbury's servants dandled this large child with a witness, who plucked him from thence, and buffeted him to purpose.'³ Richard claimed the right side as belonging to his see — Roger as belonging to his prior consecration. In the scuffle, the northern primate was seized, as he alleged, by the Bishop of Ely, thrown on his face, trampled down, beat with fists and sticks, and severely bruised. He rose, with his cope torn,⁴ and rushed into the Abbey, where he found the King and denounced to him the two prelates of Canterbury and Ely. At last the feud was reconciled, on the Bishop of Ely's positive denial of the outrage, and the two Primates were bound by the King to keep the peace for five years. It led to the final settlement of the question, as it has remained ever since, by a Papal edict,

¹ For the strange stories of John of Crema, see Fuller's *Church History*, A. D. 1102; Eadmer, iii. 67; Florence of Worcester. See the authorities in Robertson's *History of the Church*, iii. 234.

² Gervase, 1433.

³ Fuller's *Church History*, A. D. 1176.

⁴ Brompton, 1109. The decrees of the council are given in Benedict, i. 97-107.

giving to one the title of the Primate of All England, to the other of the Primate of England.¹ At another

council, held apparently in the Precincts, the
 1190. less important precedence between the bishops of London and Winchester was settled, London taking the right, and Winchester the left of the legate.² Here, in the presence of Archbishop (afterwards Saint) Edmund, Henry III., with the Gospel in one hand and a lighted taper in the other, swore to observe the Magna

Charta. The Archbishop and Prelates, and the King himself, dashed their candles on the ground, whilst each dignitary closed his nostrils and his eyes against the smoke and smell, with the words, 'So go out, with smoke and stench, the accursed souls of those who break or pervert the Charter.' To which all replied, 'Amen and Amen; but none more frequently or loudly than the King.'³ Yet 'he took not away the High Places,' exclaims the honest chronicler, 'and again and again he collected and spent his money, till, oh shame! his folly by constant repetition

came to be taken as a matter of course.' Perhaps
 1290. of all the councils which the Precincts witnessed (the exact spot is not mentioned) the most important was that which sanctioned the expulsion of the Jews from England.⁴

¹ So in France the Archbishop of Lyons was styled by the Pope 'Primate of Gaul,' and the Archbishop of Vienne 'Primate of Primates.' A like rivalry existed in the Irish Church, between the Archbishop of Armagh and the Archbishop of Dublin. In the Protestant Church the question has long been determined in favour of 'the Lord Primate of Armagh.' But in the Roman Catholic Church even the See of Rome has not ventured to decide between the two rivals. (Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, ii. 76.)

² Diceto, 656. Another was held in 1200. (Ibid. 707.)

³ Matt. Paris, p. 742. Grossetete, *Letters*, 72, p. 236, ed. Luard.

⁴ Hardouin's *Concilia*, A. D. 1290. Pauli, iv. 53.

We have now traversed the monastic Precincts. We would fain have traced in them, as in the Abbey itself, the course of English history. But it has not been possible. Isolated incidents of general interest are interwoven with the growth of the Convent, but nothing more, unless it be the gradual rise of the English character and language. It was at ^{Growth of English.} first strictly a Norman institution. As a general rule, English was never to be spoken in common conversation—nor even Latin—nothing but French. And the double defeat of the Saxons, first from the Danes at Assenden, and then from the Normans at Hastings, was carefully commemorated. But still the tradition of the English Saxon home of St. Edward lingered. It is expressly noted that the ancient Saxon practice of raising the cup from the table with both hands, which had prevailed before the Norman Conquest, still continued at the monastic suppers. One of the earliest specimens of the English language is the form of vow, which is permitted to those who cannot speak French, ‘Hic frere N. hys hole stedfastness and chaste lyf, at fore God and alle hys halewen, and pat hic sallen bonsum¹ liven withouten properte all my lyf tyme.’

Neither can we arrive at any certain knowledge of their obedience or disobedience to the rules of their order. Only now and then, through edicts of kings² and abbots, we discern the difficulty of ^{Discipline.} restraining the monks from galloping over the country away from conventual restraint, or, in the popular legends, engaged in brawls with a traditionary giantess

¹ This is a translation of the French ‘à ki je serai obedient.’ Ware, c. 26.

² Archives.

and virago of the place in Henry VIII's reign — Long Meg of Westminster.¹

We ask in vain for the peculiarities of the several Chapels which sprang up round the Shrine, or for the general appearance of the worship. The faint ^{Special} ^{devotions.} allusions in Abbot Ware's rules reveal here and there the gleam of a lamp burning at this or that altar, or at the tomb of Henry III., and of the two Saxon Queens, or in the four corners of the Cloisters or in the Chapter House. We see at certain times the choir hung with ivy, rushes, and mint. We detect at night the watchers, with lights by their sides, sleeping in the Church.² A lofty Crucifix met the eyes of those who entered through the North Transept; another rose above the High Altar;³ another, deeply venerated, in the Chapel of St. Paul. We catch indications of altars of St. Thomas of Canterbury, of St. Helena, of the Holy Trinity, and of the Holy Cross, of which the very memory has perished. The altar of St. Faith⁴ stood in the Revestry; the chapel and altar of St. Blaize ^{Relics.} in the South Transept. The relics⁵ given by Henry III. and Edward I. have been already men-

¹ Tract on Long Meg of Westminster, in *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*. See Ben Jonson's *Fortunate Isles*: —

'Or Westminster Meg,
With her long leg,
As long as a crane,
And feet like a flame,' etc.

(viii. 78.)

She is introduced as a character on the stage in that masque with Skelton.

² Ware.

³ Chapter IV. and Islip Roll.

⁴ This had already been conjectured by Sir Gilbert Scott from the fresco of a female saint with the emblems of St. Faith, a book and an iron rod; and the statement in Ware that the Altar of St. Faith was under the charge of the Revestarius, puts it beyond doubt. (See *Old London*, p. 146; *Gleanings*, p. 47.)

⁵ For the whole list see Flete, c. xiv.

tioned; the Phial of the Sacred Blood, the Girdle of the Virgin, the tooth of St. Athanasius, the head of St. Benedict. And we have seen their removal¹ from place to place, as the royal tombs encroached upon them; how they occupied first the place of honour eastward of the Confessor's shrine; then, in order to make way for Henry V.'s chantry, were transported to the space between the shrine and the tomb of Henry III., whence they were again dislodged, or threatened to be dislodged, by the intended tomb of Henry VI. A spot of peculiar sanctity existed from the times of the first Norman kings, which perhaps can still be identified on the south-eastern side of the Abbey. Egelric, Grave of Egelric, 1072. Bishop of Durham in the time of the Confessor, was a characteristic victim of the vicissitudes of that troubled period. Elevated from the monastery of Peterborough, in 1041, to the see of York, he was driven from his newly-acquired dignity, by the 'almost natural' jealousy of the seculars, and degraded in 1042, if such an expression may be used, to the hardly less important see of Durham. From Durham he was expelled by the same influence in 1045, and again restored by the influence of Siward of Northumberland.² In 1056 he resigned his see and retired to his old haunts at Peterborough. There, either from suspicion of malversation of the revenues of Durham, or of treasonable excommunications at Peterborough, he was, in 1069, arrested by order of the Conqueror, and imprisoned at Westminster. He lived there for two years, during which, 'by fasting and tears, he so attenuated

¹ Occasionally they were lent out by the monks. See Appendix.

² Simeon of Durham; (*Hist. Ecc. Dur.* iii. 6;) *Worcester Chron.*, A.D. 1073; *Peterborough Chron.*, A.D. 1072; *Ann. Wav.*, A.D. 1072; *Flor. Wig.*, A.D. 1072; *Hugo Candidus*, p. 45.

and purged away his former crimes as to acquire a reputation for sanctity,' and, on his death in 1072, was buried in the porch of the Chapel of St. Nicholas,¹ ordering his fetters to be buried with him, to increase his chance of a martyr's glory. This is the earliest mention of that Chapel. The grave which, seventy years after, 'was honoured by the vows and prayers of pilgrims,' is therefore probably under the southern wall of the Abbey; and it is an interesting thought that in the stone coffin recently found near that spot we
Pilgrimages. may perhaps have seen the skeleton of the sanctified prisoner Egelric.

The Confessor's shrine was, however, of course the chief object. But no Chaucer has told us of the pilgrimages to it, whether few or many: no record reveals to us the sentiments which animated the inmates of the Convent, or the congregations who worshipped within its walls, towards the splendid edifice of which it was the centre. The Bohemian travellers in the fifteenth century record the admiration inspired by the golden sepulchre of 'St. Keuhard,' or 'St. Edward,' 'the ceiling more delicate and elegant than they had seen elsewhere;' 'the musical service lovely to hear;' and, above all, the unparalleled number of relics, 'so numerous that two scribes writing for two weeks could hardly make a catalogue of them.'

In the close of the fifteenth century we can see the conventual artists² hard at work in beautifying the various Chapels. Their ceilings, their images,
Painters. were all newly painted. An alabaster image of the Virgin was placed in the Chapel of St. Paul, and a picture of the Dedication of the Abbey. Over the tomb of Sebert were placed pictures, probably those

¹ Malmesbury, *De Gest. Pont. Angl.* iii.

² Cartulary.

which still exist. Then was added the Apocalyptic series round the walls of the Chapter House. Then we read of a splendid new Service Book, highly decorated and illuminated, and presented, by subscriptions from the Abbot and eight monks. As the end draws near, there is no slackening of artistic zeal. As we have seen, no Abbot was more devoted to the work of decoration and repair than Islip, and of all the grand ceremonials of the Middle Ages in the Abbey, there is none of which we have a fuller description than that one which contains within itself all the preludes of the end.

For it was when Islip was Abbot that there arrived for Wolsey the Cardinal's red hat from Rome. He 'thought it for his honour meet'¹ that so high a jewel should not be conveyed by so simple a messenger as popular rumour had imagined, and accordingly 'caused him to be stayed by the way, and newly furnished in all manner of apparel, with all kinds of costly silks which seemed decent for such high ambassador.' That done, he was met at Blackheath, and escorted in pomp to London. 'There was great and speedy provision and preparation made in Westminster Abbey for the confirmation of his high dignity . . . which was done,' says his biographer, 'in so solemn a wise as I have not seen the like unless it had been at the coronation of a mighty prince or king.' We can hardly doubt that he chose the Abbey now, as, on a subsequent occasion, for the convocation of York, in order to be in a place beyond the jurisdiction of the rival primate. What follows shows how completely he succeeded in establishing his new precedence over the older dignity. On Thurs-

Reception
of Wolsey's
Hat, 1515.

1515.
Nov. 15.

¹ Cavendish's *Wolsey*, 29, 30.

day, Nov. 15, the prothonotary entered London with the Hat in his hand, attended by a splendid escort of prelates and nobles, the Bishop of Lincoln riding on his right, and the Earl of Essex on his left, 'having with them six horses or above, and they all well becoming, and keeping a good order in their proceeding.' 'The Mayor of London and the Aldermen on horseback in Cheapside, and the craft stood in the street, after their custom.' It was an arrival such as we have seen but once in our day, of a beautiful Princess coming from a foreign land to be received as a daughter of England. At the head of this procession the Hat moved on, and 'when the said Hatt was come to the Abbey of Westminster,' at the great north entrance, it was welcomed by the Abbot Islip, and beside him, the Abbots of St. Albans, Bury, Glastonbury, Reading, Gloucester, Winchester, Tewkesbury, and the Prior of Coventry, 'all in pontificalibus.' By them the Hat was honourably received, and 'conveyed to the High Altar, where it was sett.'¹ On Sunday the 18th the Cardinal,

Nov. 18. with a splendid retinue on horseback, 'knights, barons, bishops, earls, dukes, and archbishops,' came between eight and nine from his palace by Charing Cross. They dismounted at the north door, and 'went to the High Altar, where, on the south side, was ordained a goodly traverse for my Lord Cardinal, and when his Grace was come into it,' then, as if after waiting for a personage more than royal, 'immediately began the mass of the Holy Ghost, sung by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Warham). The Bishop of Rochester (Fisher) acted as crosier to my Lord of Canterbury.' The Bishop of Lincoln read the Gospel, the Bishop of Exeter the

¹ 'After its long and fatiguing journey from Italy.' See the humorous narrative in Hook's *Archbishops of Canterbury*, v. 250.

Epistle. Besides the eight Abbots were present the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and the Bishops of Winchester, Durham, Norwich, Ely, and Llandaff. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, 'made a brief collation or proposition,' explaining the causes of 'his high and joyous promotion,' the dignities of a prince and bishop, and also 'the high and great power of a Cardinal;' and 'how he betokeneth the free beams of wisdom and charity which the apostles received from the Holy Ghost on Whit Sunday; and how a Cardinal representeth the order of Seraphim, which continually increaseth in the love of the glorious Trinity, and for this consideration a Cardinal is only apparelled with red, which colour only betokeneth nobleness.' His short discourse closed with an exhortation to my Lord Cardinal in this wise: 'My Lord Cardinal, be glad and enforce yourself always to do and execute righteously to rich and poor, and mercy with truth.' Then, after the reading of the Bull, 'at Agnus Dei, came forth of his traverse my Lord Cardinal, and kneeled before the middle of the High Altar, where for a certain time he lay grovelling, his hood over his head during benediction and prayers concerning the high creation of a Cardinal,' said over him by Archbishop Warham, 'which also sett the Hatt upon his head.' Then Te Deum was sung. 'All services and ceremonies finished, my Lord came to the door before named, led by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, where his Grace with all the noblemen ascended upon their horses, and in good order proceeded to his place by Charing Cross, preceding it the mace, such as belongeth to a Cardinal to have; and my Lord of Canterbury' (the latest historian¹ of the Primates with true English pride adds, 'one almost revolts from

¹ Hook, v. 253.

writing the fact'), 'having no cross before him.'¹ We need not follow them to the splendid banquet. It is enough for the Abbey to have been selected as the scene of the Cardinal's triumphant day, to have thus seen the full magnificence at once of the Papal hierarchy and of the Revival of Letters, and to have heard in the still small accents of Colet the whisper of the coming storm, and have welcomed in the Cardinal Legate the first great dissolver of monasteries.²

But the precincts of Westminster had already sheltered the power which was to outshine the hats of cardinals and the crosiers of prelates, and to bring out into a new light all that was worthy of preservation in the Abbey itself. 'William Caxton, who first introduced into Great Britain the art of printing, exercised that art A. D. 1477, or earlier, in the Abbey of Westminster.'³ So speaks the epitaph, designed originally for the walls of the Abbey, now erected by the Roxburghe Club near the grave in St. Margaret's Church, which received his remains in 1491. His press was near the house which he occupied in the Almonry, by the Chapel of St. Anne.⁴ This ecclesiasti-

¹ Cavendish's *Wolsey*, ii. 301. MS. from the Heralds' Office.

² Wolsey visited the Abbey as Legate in 1518 and 1525. 'Ex improviso, severè, intemperanter, omnia agit; miscet, turbat, ut terreat ceteros, ut imperium ostendat, ut se terribilem præbeat;' Polydore Vergil. (Dugdale, i. 278.)

³ The words 'in the Abbey of Westminster' are taken from the titlepages of Caxton's books in 1480, 1481, and 1484. The special locality, at the Red Pale near St. Anne's Chapel in the Almonry, is given in Stow, p. 476; Walcott, p. 279. The only Abbot with whom he had any relations was Esteney. (*Life of Caxton*, i. 62-66.)

⁴ Amongst the curiosities of natural history in the Abbey, connected with Caxton's press, are the corpses of a colony of rats found in a hole in the Triforium. They had in successive generations carried off fragments of paper, beginning with mediæval copy-books, then of Caxton's first printed works, ranging down to the time

cal origin of the first English Printing-press is perpetuated in the name of 'the Chapel,' given by printers to a congress or meeting of their body ; perhaps also by the use of the terms 'justification,' 'monking' and 'friaring,' as applied to operations of printing. Victor Hugo, in a famous passage of his 'Notre Dame de Paris,' describes how 'the Book killed the Church.' The connection of Caxton with the Abbey gives to this thought another and a kindlier turn — 'The Church (or the Chapel) has given life to the Book.' In this sense, if in no other, Westminster Abbey has been the source of enlightenment to England, beyond any other spot in the Empire ; and the growth of this new world within its walls opens the way to the next stage in its history.

of Queen Anne. Then, probably during the repairs of Wren, the hole was closed, and the depredations ceased, and the skeletons alone remained. These, with other like curiosities, are now in the Chapter House.

THE ABBEY SINCE THE REFORMATION.

SOMETHING ere the end,
Some work of noble note may yet be done ;
'T is not too late to seek a newer world . . .
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will,
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.
TENNYSON'S *Ulysses*.

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

THE special authorities for this period are : —

- I. The Chapter Books, from 1542 to the present time.
- II. Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*.
- III. Heylin's *Life of Laud*.
- IV. Bernard's *Life of Heylin*.
- V. *Atterbury's Life and Letters*.
- VI. *Life of Bishop Newton*, by himself.
- VII. *Lives of South, Thomas, and Vincent*, prefixed to their Works.
- VIII. Carter's Articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1799–1800.
- IX. *Census Alumnorum Westmonasteriensium*.
- X. *Lusus Alteri Westmonasteriensis*, 1st and 2nd series.
- XI. *Autobiography of William Taswell*, in the *Camden Society*, vol. ii. 1852.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ABBEY SINCE THE REFORMATION.

THE Dissolution of the Abbey¹ and Monastery of St. Peter, like all the acts of the first stage of the Reformation, was effected with a silence only explicable by the long expectation with which their approach was prepared. The first book, The Dissolution of the Monastery, Jan. 16, 1539-40. containing the orders of the new Dean and Chapter, which begins in 1542, quietly opens with the record of leases and meetings for business. The services of the Roman Church continued unchanged through the remaining years of Henry VIII. Three masses a day were said — in St. John's Chapel, the Lady Chapel, and at the High Altar. The dirge still sounded, and the waxlights still burned, on Henry VII's anniversaries. Under Edward VI the change is indicated by an order to sell the brass lecterns, and copper-gilt candlesticks, and angels, 'as monuments of idolatry,' with an injunction, which one is glad to read, that the proceeds are to be devoted 'to the Library and buying of books.'² In like manner, 'Communion' is silently substituted for 'mass,' and 'surplices and hoods' for the ancient vestments.

The institution passed into its new stage at once, and its progress is chiefly marked by the dismember-

¹ The value of the property according to Speed was £3,977, according to Dugdale £3,471.

² Chapter Book, 1547-1549.

ment and reconstruction of the mighty skeleton,¹ which was to be slowly reanimated with a new life. Here, as at Canterbury and elsewhere, in the newly-constructed Chapters, a School was founded, of which the scholarships were, in the first instance, given away by ballot of the Dean and Prebendaries.² Twenty Oxford and Cambridge scholars, and the payment of the Royal Professorships, were charged on the Chapter.

The Abbot was converted into a Dean. The Monks were succeeded by twelve Prebendaries, each to be present daily in the Choir, and to preach once a quarter.³ Every Saturday in the year there was to be a meeting in the Chapter House.⁴ But now, for the first time since the Abbey had established its original independence, the head of the Chapter was subjected to a bishop, who resided in the ancient Abbot's House, the Dean living amongst the ruins of the old Misericorde.⁵ This prelate was entitled 'the Bishop of Westminster,' and his diocese included the whole of Middlesex, except Fulham; so that he was, in fact, the chief prelate of the metropolis.⁶ The consecration of Thirlby to this newly-

The Cathedral under the Bishop of Westminster, Dec. 18, 1540.

Thirlby, 1540-50.

¹ Amongst the buildings thus mentioned are 'the old Dovehouse,' 'the Hall wherein the tomb is,' 'Patch's House' (*qu.* for Wolsey's Fool), 'Row's House,' 'Canterbury,' 'door from the Plumbery into the Abbey,' and 'the Long House,' adjoining to the Cloisters. This last was probably the line of buildings on the east side of Dean's Yard. (Chapter Book, 1542-1552.) The tapestries and furniture of the Jerusalem Chamber were bought at low prices by the Bishop and Dean. (Inventory.)

² *Ib.* 1547.

³ Chapter Book, 1547-1549.

⁴ *Ib.* 1549. See Chapter V.

⁵ Ashburnham House was called of old time, doubtless from this occupation, 'the Dean's House.'

⁶ From this temporary see arose the title of '*the city*' of Westminster. (Dugdale, i. 321, 322.) The Abbey of Westminster and Cathedral of St. Paul are 'metropolitan,' as being the chief churches of the metropolis. The Cathedrals of Canterbury and York are not

created see may be taken as the starting-point of the new series of episcopal consecrations in the Abbey. Cranmer had indeed been dedicated to his office close by, in the Royal Chapel of St. Stephen — ^{Consecrated, Dec. 19, 1540.} ¹ characteristically within the immediate residence of the Reforming Sovereign. But, from that time till recent days, all such consecrations as took place in Westminster were in the Chapel of Henry VII. That gorgeous building, just clear from the hands of the workmen, — ‘St. Saviour’s ² Chapel,’ as it was called, to avoid the now questionable name of ‘the Lady Chapel,’ — was henceforth destined to play the same part which St. Catherine’s Chapel had played hitherto, as a sacred edifice belonging to the Abbey and yet not identical with it, used not for its general worship, but for all special solemnities. Here Thirlby was consecrated in what now became his own ^{Consecration of Kitchin, May 2, 1546; and Godwin, Nov. 22, 1601.} cathedral to the see of Westminster, and the time-serving Kitchin and his successor Godwin to the see of Llandaff. But the one solitary episcopate of Westminster is not of good omen for its revival. Thirlby was a man of amiable but feeble character, and the diocese, after ten years, was merged in the See of London.³ Thirlby was translated, first to Norwich⁴

‘metropolitan,’ but ‘metropolitical,’ as being the seats of the two Metropolitans.

¹ Courtenay was consecrated there to Exeter, Nov. 8, 1476; Oliver King to Exeter, Feb. 3, 1493; and Shaxton to Salisbury, April 11, 1535.

² ‘In St. Saviour’s Chapel, near the sepulchre of Henry VII.’ Strype, *Cranmer*, c. 23. So St. Mary’s, in Southwark, became St. Saviour’s.

³ He was with Bonner, on the melancholy commission for the degradation of Cranmer, and did his utmost to moderate his colleague’s violence.

⁴ When Bishop of Norwich he had the house in the Westminster Precincts, which the Dean had occupied, and which was afterwards occupied by Sir R. Cotton. (*Chapter Book*, 1552.)

in 1550, and then to Ely in 1554; and after the accession of Elizabeth lived partly as guest, partly as prisoner, at Lambeth, where he lies buried in the chancel of the parish church¹ with his cross in his hand, and his hat under his arm.²

It was on this occasion that, out of the appropriation of the estates³ of Westminster to fill up the needs of

One of the two metropolitan churches under the Bishop of London, 1550. Robbing Peter to pay Paul.

London, the proverb arose of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul,'⁴ a proverb which, indeed, then carried with it the fullest significance that the words can bear. The old, original, venerable Apostle of the first ages had lost his hold, and the new independent Apostle of the coming ages was riding on the whirlwind. The idea of a Church where the Catholic Peter and the Reforming Paul could both be honoured, had not yet entered into the mind of man. Let us hope that the coexistence of St. Peter's Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral, each now so distinct not only in origin but in outward aspect, is a pledge that the dream has been in part realised.

It was by a hard struggle in those tempestuous times that the Abbey was saved. Its dependency of the

¹ Neale, ii. 105, 107.

² So he was found in 1783 on making Archbishop Cornwallis's grave. (Sir H. M. Nichols's Privy Purse Expenses, H. viii. p. 357.)

³ Westbourne and Paddington were then transferred from the see of Westminster to London.

⁴ Collier, ii. 324; Widmore, p. 133. So afterwards, 'the City wants to bury Lord Chatham in St. Paul's, which, as a person said to me, would literally be "robbing Peter to pay Paul." I wish it could be so, that there might be some decoration of that nudity.' (Walpole, vii. 69. See Chapter IV.) Canon Robertson points out to me that a similar, though not exactly the same expression is found generally applied, as far back as the twelfth century, 'tanquam si quis crucifigeret Paulum ut redimeret Petrum.' (Herbert of Bosham, 287.) Compare also a letter of Alexander III. to Henry II. (Letters of Becket, Giles, iv. 116.)

Priory of St. Martin's-le-Grand¹ was torn to pieces, and let out to individuals.² Its outlying domains to the east of Westminster, it is said, were sacrificed to the Protector Somerset, to induce him to forbear from pulling down the Abbey itself.³ The Chapter Book of these years is filled with grants and entreaties to the Protector himself, to his wife, to his brother, and to his servant. Twenty tons of Caen stone, evidently from the dilapidated monastery, were made over to him, 'if there could be so much spared,' 'in the hope that he would be good and gracious.'⁴ According to one version, the inhabitants of Westminster rose in a body, and prevented the demolition of their beloved church.⁵ According to another, and perhaps more authentic⁶ tradition, the Protector's designs had not reached further than the destruction of St. Margaret's Church, and portioning out the Nave of the Abbey for the ejected congregation. 'But no sooner had the workmen advanced their scaffolds, when the parishioners gathered together in great multitudes, with bows and arrows, staves and clubs . . . which so terrified the workmen that they ran away in great amazement, and never could be brought again upon that employment.'

On the extinction of the Bishopric, the Abbot's House was sold to Lord Wentworth, the Lord Chamberlain. He lived in it only for a year, and was buried in the Chapel of St. Blaize or the Islip Chapel,⁷ with much heraldic pomp, the

The dangers
of the Abbey.

Lord Wentworth's
funeral,
March 7,
1550-1.

¹ See Chapter V. p. 22.

² Chapter Book, 1549.

³ Fourteen manors are said to have been given to him. Dart, i. 66.

⁴ Chapter Book, 1546, 1547.

⁵ *Gent. Mag.* 1799, vol. lxix. pt. i. p. 447.

⁶ Heylin's *Hist. Ref.* 72; Hayward's *Life of Edward VI.*, 205.

⁷ Machyn's *Diary*, March 7, 1550-1. 'In the same chapel that the old abbot (*query* Islip or Benson) was buried.'

children, priests, and clerks attending in surplices. Miles Coverdale, the translator of the Bible, preached his funeral sermon. The Dean had occupied the buildings where the Misericorde or Smaller Refectory had stood, adjoining the garden.¹ The Great Refectory was pulled down 'by his servant Guy Gaskell,'² and the vacant ground granted to one of the Prebendaries (Carleton, also Dean of Peterborough), who was allowed to take the lead from St. Catherine's Chapel. A Library was set up in the North Cloister. The 'Smaller Dormitory'³ was cleared away, to open a freer passage to the Dean's House by the Dark Entry. The conventual Granary was portioned out for the corn of the Dean and Prebendaries.⁴ The Plumbery and Waxchandlery were transferred to its vaults. The 'Anchorite's House'⁵ was leased to a bellringer appointed by the little Princess Elizabeth.

In the midst of these changes Dean Benson,⁶ once Abbot Boston, died, it is said, of vexation over the financial difficulties of his house,⁷ and was buried at the entrance of St. Blaize's Chapel. His successor, Richard Cox, who was duly installed in 'the Chapter House,' had been one of the three tutors⁸ of Edward VI., and was accordingly transferred from a canonry at Windsor to the Deanery of Westminster. Whilst there he attended the Pro-

Benson,
1539-49.

Cox, 1549-
1553.

¹ Chapter Book, 1545. — It was long called the 'Dean's House.'

² Chapter Book, Nov. 5, 1544.

³ A name of which the peculiar meaning is well known to antiquaries. ⁴ Chapter Book, 1546. ⁵ See Chapter V. p. 34.

⁶ His surname as Abbot had been, from his birthplace, *Boston*.

⁷ The loss from the fall of money made it necessary to sell plate and stuff. (Chapter Book, 1552.) An inventory of the Abbot's plate is in the Record Office. (Land Revenue Accounts, No. 1114.)

⁸ This seems to have been a frequent function of the Deans of Westminster. See Doyne Bell's *Tower Chapel*, pp. 152, 172.

tector Somerset on the scaffold. After four years he was compelled to fly, from his complicity in the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne. Almost immediately on his return from Germany, on the accession of Elizabeth, he was appointed to succeed Thirlby at Ely in 1559,¹ where he died in extreme old age in 1581. His venerable white beard renders him conspicuous among the portraits of the Bishops of Ely, in the Library of Trinity Hall at Cambridge.

Hugh Weston (a man, it is said, of very questionable character) succeeded, but was removed, after three years, to Windsor, to make way for the change which Mary had so much at heart. It was gradually effected. The Prebendaries, one by one, conformed to her faith. Philip's father-confessor was lodged in the Precincts. But the College dinners became somewhat disorderly. 'Forks' and 'knives' are tossed freely to and fro, and 'Hugh Price breaks John Wood's head with a pot.'² The Chapter Book here abruptly closes, and a few blank leaves alone indicate the period of the transition.

Weston,
1558-66.

The revival
of the
Abbacy.

In that interval the Abbey bore its part in scenes which at the time must have seemed to be fraught with incalculable consequences for England and for Europe. On the 12th of November was celebrated the mass of the Holy Ghost at the altar of West-

1554, Nov.

12.

¹ For Cox's conduct, see Aikin's *Elizabeth*, i. 154; and Strype's *Annals*, ii. pt. ii. p. 267; iii. pt. i. p. 37; also Froude's *Hist.* vol. xi. pp. 5, 6, 7. To the period of his exile belongs the remarkable poem ascribed to him, on 'Say well and do well,' published in vol. xiii. of the Percy Society. He was the 'proud Prelate' whom Elizabeth threatened to 'unfrock.'

² Chapter Book, 1554. — Against the names of Hugh Griffiths and T. Reynolds is written, in a later hand, 'turncoats;' and against six others, 'new Prebendaries of the Romish persuasion.'

minster Abbey, in the presence of King Philip and Queen Mary, to inaugurate the Parliament which met to repeal the attainder of Cardinal Pole, and welcome him on his mission of reuniting the Church of England to the Church of Rome. The Cardinal arrived, and now the great day itself was come on which the reconciliation was to be accomplished. The Feast of

Nov. 30.

St. Andrew was chosen,¹ as being the festival of Philip's highest order—the Golden Fleece. From the Holbein gate of Whitehall Palace issued the Spanish King, escorted by six hundred Spanish courtiers, dressed in their court costumes of white velvet,² striped with red, which they had not worn since their first entrance into England; and which were now reassumed to mark the auspicious event. The Knights of the Garter joined the procession with their badges and collars. In the presence of this gorgeous assembly the High Mass of the Order of the Golden Fleece was sung in the Abbey. The service lasted till two in the afternoon. The Queen and the Cardinal were absent, she reserving herself, in expectation of the anticipated heir to her throne, from any unnecessary fatigue: the Cardinal also, perhaps, from his weak health, or to give greater effect to his appearance for the final and yet grander ceremony in Westminster Hall. Thither he was brought from Lambeth in state by the Earl of Arundel and six other knights of the Garter, whom the King despatched for him as soon as they left the Abbey. There, 'in the fast waning light of that November evening,' took place the solemn reconciliation of the English Church and nation with the see of Rome—so enthusiasti-

¹ *Descriptio Reductionis Angliæ* in the Appendix to Pole's *Letters*; Froude, vi. 283.

² Machyn's *Diary*, Nov. 12, 30, 1554.

cally received at the time, so totally reversed within the next few years, so vainly re-attempted since. We leave to the general historian the description of this scene and of its consequences, and return to the Abbey and its officers. The last appearance of Weston as Dean of Westminster was at the head of one of the numerous processions which marched through the streets of London to hasten the fulfilment of the eager wishes of the childless Queen. In the place of the Chapter, almost alone of the monastic bodies, the Convent of Westminster was restored. John Hownan,¹ of the Abbot Feckenham, 1556-60. Forest of Feckenham in Worcestershire, the last mitred Abbot of England, 'a short man, of a round visage, fresh colour, affable, and pleasant,'² is one of the few characters of that age who, without any powerful abilities, commands a general respect from his singular moderation and forbearance. Some hasty words against Ridley, and a quarrel with a young man at the Bishop of Winchester's table about fasting,³ are the only indications that his life furnishes of the harsh temper of those times.

His early years had been spent in Evesham Abbey, and then, after disputes with Cranmer and Hooper which lodged him in the Tower, he was raised by Mary first to the Deanery of St. Paul's, and then to the restored Abbacy of Westminster. We can best imagine 1555, Nov. 22. the scene when the new Abbot, with his thirteen monks (four from Glastonbury), reoccupied the deserted buildings, by reading the description of the

¹ He is the last instance of an Englishman taking his name from his birthplace. (Fuller's *Worthies*.)

² Harpsfield. (Seymour's *Stow*, ii. 611.) He was to be re-elected every three years, without a *congé d'élire*. (Widmore, 136.) Hook's *Life of Pole*, 403.

³ Strype's *Annals*, i. 111; ii. 179.

like event¹ in the ruins of Melrose, depicted by the wonderful genius which was able at once to recall the past, and to hold the balance between the conflicting parties of that time. It was in November, on St. Clement's eve, that 'the Lord Abbot with the convent, thirteen monks "shorn in," went in procession after the old fashion in their monks' weeds, in cowls of black serge, with two vergers carrying two silver rods in their hands, and at evening time the vergers went through the cloisters to the Abbot, and so went into the church afore the altar, and then my Lord kneeled down, and his convent, and, after his prayer made, was brought into the quire with the vergers, and so into his place.' In the following week 'my Lord Abbot was consecrated in the Abbey, and there was great company, and he was made abbot, and did wear a mitre, and my Lord Cardinal (Pole) was there, and many Bishops, and my Lord Chancellor (Gardiner) did sing mass, and the Abbot made the sermon, and my Lord Treasurer was there.' A few days afterwards, on December

Dec. 6.

6 (the Feast of St. Nicholas²), the Abbot marched in procession 'with his convent. Before him went all the monastery men with cross keys upon their garments, and after went three homicides,' as if ostentatiously paraded for the sake of showing that the rights of sanctuary were in full force.³ The young nobleman, Lord Dacre, walked with a sheet about him, and was whipped as he went. With him was the lowborn murderer of the tailor in Long Acre, and the small Westminster scholar, who had slain a 'big boy' that

¹ The scene of the election of the last mitred Abbot of Scotland, in Scott's *Abbot*, ch. xiii., xiv., xv.

² Machyn's *Diary*, Nov. 22, 29; Dec. 6, 1555.

³ See Chapter V. p. 38.

sold papers and printed books in Westminster Hall, by hurling a stone which hit him under the ear — earliest hero of the long-sustained conflicts between the Westminster scholars and the 'skys' of London, as the outside world was called. The ruins of the Confessor's Shrine were repaired, so far as the taste of the age would allow. On the 5th of January, 1557, the anniversary of the Confessor's death, 'the Shrine ^{1556-7.} Jan. 5. was again set up, and the Altar with divers jewels that the Queen sent hither.' 'The body of the most holy King Edward, though the heretics had power on that wherein the body was enclosed, yet on that sacred body had they no power,' he found and restored to its 'ancient sepulture.'¹ On the 20th of March, ^{March 20.} with a hundred lights, King Edward the Confessor 'was reverently carried from the place that he was taken up where he was laid when the Abbey was spoiled and robbed, and so he was carried, and goodly singing and censing as has been seen, and mass sung.'² By the 21st of April the Shrine was 'set up' ^{April 21.} and was visited 'after dinner' by the Duke of Muscovy,³ who went up to see it and saw the place through. The marks of this hasty restoration ^{1557.} are still visible in the displaced fragments, and plaster mosaic, and novel cornice.⁴ A wooden canopy was placed over it, perhaps intended as a temporary

¹ I owe the sight of this speech of Feckenham to the kindness of Mr. Froude.

² Chronicle of Grey Friars, 94; Machyn's *Diary*, March 21, 1557.

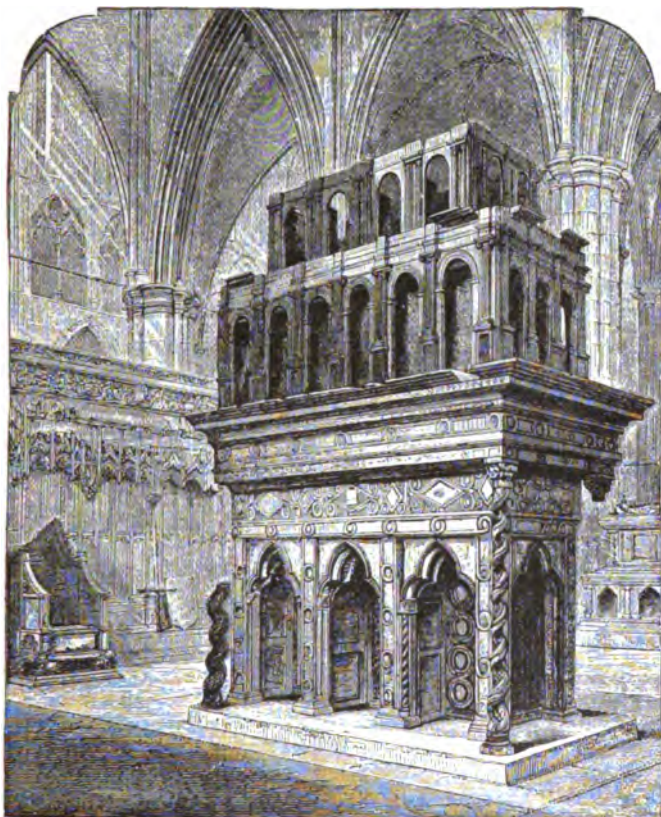
³ Machyn's *Diary*, April 21, 1557. Malcolm, p. 237.

⁴ The lower part of the shrine, including the arches, seems to have been left undisturbed. All the upper part was broken, probably for the removal of the coffin. A fragment of the original cornice was found in 1868 built into the wall of the School, and has been restored to its place.

structure, to supply the place of its splendid tabernacle, but which has remained unaltered and unfinished to this day — a memorial the more interesting from the transient state of the Church which it represents. Above, and instead of the old inscription, was written a new one round the Shrine, and like inscriptions were added to each of the Royal Tombs.¹ The ancient Charters were, it was believed, preserved as if by a miracle, being found, by a servant of Cardinal Pole, in the hands of a child playing in the streets. And by appealing to these, as well as to Lucius's foundation and St. Peter's visit, the relics of the saints, the graves of kings, and 'the commodity of our ancestors,' the Abbot pleaded earnestly before the House of Commons for the Westminster right of sanctuary.² For the whole of that year the enthusiasm continued. On Passion Sunday my Lord Abbot did preach as goodly a sermon as has been heard in our time.' 'On Ascension Day the King and Queen went in procession about the Cloister, and heard mass.' On St Andrew's Day, Nov. 30, 1558. the anniversary of the Reconciliation, a procession went about the Abbey. Philip, Mary, and Cardinal Pole were all present, and the Abbot 'sang the mass.' On the next Easter Eve the 'Paschal candle was installed upon the High Altar with a great entertainment of the master and wardens of the wax-chandlers.' One curious incident reveals the deeply-seated infirmity of monastic and collegiate establishments even in the glow of a religious revival. It was in the August of that year that the funeral of Anne of Cleves

¹ See Chapter III. It may be observed that the inscription on Edward III.'s tomb — 'Tertius Edvardus, famâ super æthera notus, *Pugna pro Patria*' is the same as that written, probably at the same date, under the statue of Edward III. on the inner gateway of Trinity College, Cambridge.

² Speech from the Rolls' House.



SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

took place. The next day was the requiem. Bonner sang mass in his mitre, and Feckenham preached, and both in their mitres incensed the corpse, and afterwards she was carried to her tomb, 'where she lies with a hearse-cloth of gold. ^{August 4.} But within three weeks the monks had by ^{August 21.} night spoiled the hearse of all its velvet cloth and trappings, the which was never¹ seen afore or so done.'

It was a brief respite. Feckenham had hardly been established in the Abbot's House for more than a year, when the death of Mary dispersed the hopes of the Roman Church in England. It depended on the will of the sovereign of the time, and with her fall it fell. Feckenham² had preached as Dean of St. Paul's at Paul's Cross before her coronation, and now at her death he delivered two sermons, which were remarkable for their moderation, on the text, 'I praised the dead more than the living' (Eccl. iv. 2).³ It ^{March 31, 1559.} was in the closing period of his rule in West- <sup>The West-
minster
Conference.</sup> minster that the Abbey witnessed the first of those theological conflicts which have since so often resounded in its precincts. Then took place the pitched battle between the divines of the old religion and of the new.⁴

On the 31st of March, 1559, there was held in Westminster Abbey a theological tournament. Eight champions on

¹ Machyn's *Diary*, Aug. 2, 3, 21, 1557. See Chapter III. The tomb was not finished till the time of James I., and has suffered since from successive changes. Even as late as 1820 it lost its marble covering, which was removed to the communion table, where it has since remained.

² Ibid. Sept. 21, 1552.

³ Fuller's *Church History*, A. D. 1558. The sermon at her funeral had been preached by Bishop White. (Machyn, Dec. 13, 1558.)

⁴ Strype's *Annals*, i. 116, 128, 196; ii. 465 (No. 15); Fuller's *Church History*, ii. 447; *Worthies*, ii. 357.

either side were chosen for the engagement. Sir Nicholas Bacon and the Archbishop of York kept the lists: the Lords and Commons were the audience—for whose better instruction the combat was to be conducted in English.

This was the last fight face to face between the Church of Rome and the Church of England. It was the direct preparation for the Liturgy as it now stands, as enjoined in Elizabeth's first Act of Uniformity. Against that Liturgy and against the Royal Supremacy the chief protest was uttered by Feckenham from his place in the House of Lords—on 'the lowest place on the Bishops' form'—where he sate as the only Abbot.¹ The battle was however lost, and it only remains, as far as Westminster is concerned, to tell, in Fuller's words, the closing scene of the good Abbot's sojourn in our precincts:—'Queen Elizabeth coming to the

Feckenham's far-
well to the
College
Garden.

Crown, sent for Abbot Feckenham to come to her, whom the messenger found setting of elms in the orchard [the College Garden] of Westminster Abbey. But he would not follow the messenger till first he had finished his plantation, which his friends impute to his being employed in mystical meditations—that as the trees he then set should spring and sprout many years after his death, so his new plantation of Benedictine monks in Westminster should take root and flourish, in defiance of all opposition. . . . Sure I am those monks long since are extirpated, but how his trees thrive at this day is to me unknown. Coming afterwards to the Queen, what discourse passed between them they themselves know alone. Some have confidently guessed she proffered him the Archbishopric of Canterbury on condition

¹ Strype's *Annals*, ii. 438, app. ix.; Cardwell's *Conference*, p. 98.

he would conform to her laws, which he utterly refused.'¹

He was treated with more or less indulgence, according to the temper of the times — sometimes a prisoner in the Tower;² sometimes a guest in the custody of Horne, Bishop of Winchester; afterwards in the same capacity in the palace of Coxe, his former predecessor at Westminster, and now the old Bishop of Ely; and finally in the castle of Wisbeach.³ There he left a memorial of himself in a stone cross, His death, 1585; buried at Wisbeach. and in the more enduring form of good deeds

amongst the poor. His last expressions breathe the same spirit of moderation which had marked his life,⁴ and, contrasted with the violence of most of his co-religionists at that time, remind us of the forbearance and good sense of Ken amongst the Nonjurors.

The change in Westminster Abbey was now complete. A Protestant sermon was preached to a 'great audience.'⁵ The stone altars were everywhere destroyed.⁶ The massy oaken table The change under Queen Elizabeth. which now stands in the Confessor's Chapel was substituted, probably at that time, for the High Altar,⁷ and was placed, as it would seem, at the foot of the steps.⁸ St. Catherine's Chapel was finally demolished, and its materials used for the new buildings.⁹

¹ Fuller's *Church Hist.* ix. 6, 8, 38. — The elms, or their successors, still remain. There was till 1779 a row of trees in the middle of the garden, which was then cut down. (Chapter Book, March 17, 1779.)

² He was deprived Jan. 4, 1559–60, and sent to the Tower May 22, 1560. (Machyn's *Diary*.)

³ Seymour's *Stow*, p. 611. — The monks had annuities granted them. (Chapter Book, 1569.)

⁴ Strype's *Annals*, ii. 528, No. xxxi.; pt. ii. pp. 177, 381, 678.

⁵ Machyn, November, 1561.

⁶ Strype's *Annals*, i. 401. See Chapter III. ⁷ Malcolm, p. 87.

⁸ Wiffin's *House of Russell*, ii. 514. ⁹ Chapter Book, 1571.

The interest of Queen Elizabeth in the institution never flagged. Even from her childhood she had taken part in its affairs. A certain John Pennicott had been appointed to the place of bellringer at the request of the 'Lady Elizabeth, daughter of our Sovereign Lord the King,'¹ when she was only thirteen. Almost always before the opening of Parliament she came to the Abbey on horseback, the rest of her train on foot. She entered at the Northern door, and through the west end of the Choir, receiving the sceptre from the Dean, which she returned to him as she went out by the Southern Transept. Carpets and cushions were placed for her by the Altar.² The day of her accession (November 17), and of her coronation (January 15), were long observed as anniversaries in the Abbey. On the first of these days the bells are still rung, and, till within the last few years, a dinner of persons connected with Westminster School took place in the College Hall.³ Under her auspices the restored Abbey and the new Cathedral⁴ both vanished away. One of the

¹ Chapter Book, November 5, 1544.

² Ibid., 1562, 1571, 1572, 1584, and 1597; Malcolm, p. 261; Strype's *Annals*, i. 438; State Papers, 1588. Her father had come in like manner in 1534.

³ See Monk's *Bentley*, p. 535. The two last centenaries of the foundation were celebrated with much pomp in 1760, and again in 1860. Chapter Book, June 3, 1760.—On this occasion the wax effigy of Elizabeth, now amongst the waxworks of the Abbey, was made by the 'gentlemen of the Choir.' (Chapter Book, June 3, 1760.)

⁴ The name 'cathedral' lingered in the Abbey for some time. It is called so at Elizabeth's coronation and funeral, and by Shakspeare (see Chapter II.). An injunction of Elizabeth orders women and children to be excluded 'from the Cathedral Church.' (State Papers, 1562; see *ibid.* 1689.) It appears as late as in the dedication of South's Sermon to Dolben; and even on Lord Mansfield's monument.

first acts of her reign¹ was to erect a new institution in place of her father's cathedral and her sister's convent.

'By the inspiration of the Divine clemency' [so she describes her motive and her object], 'on considering and revolving in our mind from what various dangers of our life and many kinds of death with which we have been on every side encompassed, the great and good God with His powerful arm hath delivered us His handmaid, destitute of all human assistance, and protected under the shadow of His wings, hath at length advanced us to the height of our royal majesty, and by His sole goodness placed us in the throne of this our kingdom, we think it our duty in the first place . . . to the intent that true religion and the true worship of Him, without which we are either like to brutes in cruelty or to beasts in folly, may in the aforesaid monastery, where for many years since they had been banished, be restored and reformed, and brought back to the primitive form of genuine and brotherly sincerity; correcting, and as much as we can, entirely forgetting, the enormities in which the life and profession of the monks had for a long time in a deplorable manner erred. And therefore we have used our endeavours, as far as human infirmity can foresee, that hereafter the documents of the sacred oracles out of which as out of the clearest fountains the purest waters of Divine truth may and ought to be drawn, and the pure sacraments of our salutary redemption be there administered, that the youth, who in the stock of our republic, like certain tender twigs, daily increase, may be liberally trained up in useful letters, to the greater ornament of the same republic, that the aged destitute of strength, those especially who shall have well and gravely served about our person, or otherwise about the public busi-

¹ Her portrait in the Deanery, traditionally said to have been given by her to Dean Goodman, was really (as appears from an inscription at the back) given to the Deanery by Dean Wilcocks.

ness of our kingdom, may be suitably nourished in things necessary for sustenance; lastly, that offices of charity to the poor of Christ,' and general words of public utility, be continued.

She then specially names the monumental character of the church, and especially the tomb of her grandfather, 'the most powerful and prudent of the kings of the age,' as furnishing a fit site, and proceeds to establish the Dean and twelve Prebendaries, under the name of the College, or Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster.

Henceforth the institution became, strictly speaking, a great academical as well as an ecclesiastical body. The old Dormitory of the monks had already been divided into two compartments. These two compartments were now to be repaired and furnished for collegiate purposes, 'upon contribution of such godly-disposed persons as have and will contribute thereunto.

The smaller or northern portion was devoted to the 'Library.' The Dean, Goodman, soon began to form a Library, and had given towards it a 'Complutensian Bible,' and a 'Hebrew Vocabulary.'¹ This Library was apparently intended to have been in

some other part of the conventual buildings, and it is not till some years later that it was ordered to be transferred to 'the great room before the old Dorter.'² Its present aspect is described in a well-known passage of Washington Irving:—

I found myself in a lofty antique hall, the roof supported by massive joists of old English oak. It was soberly lighted

¹ Chapter Book, 1571.

² The successive stages of the formation of the Library appear in the Chapter Book, Dec. 2, 1574, May 26, 1587, Dec. 3, 1591.

by a row of Gothic windows at a considerable height from the floor, and which apparently opened upon the roofs of the Cloisters. An ancient picture, of some reverend dignitary of the Church in his robes,¹ hung over the fireplace. Around the hall and in a small gallery were the books, arranged in carved oaken cases. They consisted principally of old polemical writers, and were much more worn by time than use. In the centre of the Library was a solitary table, with two or three books on it, an inkstand without ink, and a few pens parched by long disuse. The place seemed fitted for quiet study and meditation. It was buried deep among the massive walls of the Abbey, and shut up from the tumult of the world. I could only hear now and then the shouts of the schoolboys faintly swelling from the Cloisters, and the sound of a bell tolling for prayers, that echoed soberly along the roofs of the Abbey. By degrees the shouts of merriment grew fainter and fainter, and at length died away. The bell ceased to toll, and a profound silence reigned through the dusky hall.²

It was, however, long before this chamber was fully appropriated to its present purpose. The century had well nigh run out its sands, and Elizabeth's reign was all but closed, when the order, issued 1587.
1591. in the year before the Armada, was carried out, and then only as regards the southern and larger part of the original Dormitory, which had been devoted The School-room. to the Schoolroom.³ Down to that time the Schoolroom, like the Library, had been in some other

¹ Dean Williams. (See p. 417.)

² Irving's *Sketch Book*, i. 227-229. See Botfield's *Cathedral Libraries of England* (pp. 430-464), which gives a general account of the contents of the Westminster Library.

³ I have forbore here, as elsewhere, to go at length into the history of the School. It opens a new field, which one not bred at Westminster has hardly any right to enter, and which has been elaborately

chamber of the monastery. But this chamber, wherever it was, became more evidently unfit for its purpose — 'too low and too little for receiving the number of 1500. scholars.'¹ Accordingly, whilst the Library was left to wait, the Schoolroom was pressed forward with 'all convenient speed.' New 'charitable contributions' were 'gathered;' and probably by the beginning of the seventeenth century it was prepared for the uses to which it has ever since been destined. Although in great part rebuilt in this century, it still occupies the same space. Its walls are covered with famous names, which in long hereditary descent rival, probably, any place of education in England. Its roof is of the thirteenth century, one of its windows of the eleventh. From its conchlike² termination has sprung in several of the public schools the name of 'shell,' for the special class that occupies the analogous position. The monastic Granary, which under Dean Benson had still been retained for the corn of the Chapter, now became, and continued to be for nearly two hundred years, the Scholars' Dormitory. The Abbot's Refectory became the Hall of the whole establishment.³ The Dean and Prebendaries continued to dine there, at least on certain days, till

The old
School
Dormitory.
The College
Hall.

illustrated by Westminster scholars themselves in the *Census Alumnorum Westmonasteriensium*, and *Lusus Alteri Westmonasteriensis*. For a brief and lively account of its main features I may refer to two articles on 'Westminster School' (by an old schoolfellow of my own), in *Blackwood's Magazine* for July and September 1866, and since republished with other essays under the name of *The Public Schools of England*.

¹ Chapter Book, May 7, 1599. This and the previous order are given at length in *Lusus Westmonast.* ii. 332.

² This arose from the accidental repair of the building after a fire. The apse was removed in 1868, but the trace of it still remains on the floor.

³ See Chapter IV.

the middle of the seventeenth century;¹ and then, as they gradually withdrew from it to their own houses, it was left to the Scholars. Once a year the ancient custom is revived, when on Rogation Monday the Dean and Chapter receive in the Hall the former Westminster Scholars, and hear the recitation of the Epigrams, which have contributed for so many years their lively comments on the events of each passing generation.² The great tables, once believed to be of chestnut-wood, but now known to be elm, were, according to a doubtful tradition, presented by Elizabeth from the wrecks of the Spanish Armada. The round holes in their solid planks are ascribed to the cannon-balls of the English ships. They may, however, be the traces of a less illustrious warfare. Till the time of Dean Buckland, who substituted a modern stove, the Hall was warmed by a huge brazier, of which the smoke escaped through the open roof. The surface of the tables is unquestionably indented with the burning coals thence tossed to and fro by the scholars; and the hands of the late venerable Primate (Archbishop Longley) bore to the end of his life the scorching traces of the bars on which he fell as a boy in leaping over the blazing fire.

The collegiate character of the institution was still further kept up, by the close connection which Elizabeth fostered between the College of Westminster and the two great collegiate houses of Christ Church and Trinity, founded or refounded by her father, at Oxford and Cambridge. Together they formed 'the three Royal Colleges,' as if to keep alive Lord Burleigh's scheme of mak-

Its connection with Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge.

¹ Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. part ii. (No. 10).

² The present custom in its present form dates from 1857. See *Lusus West.* ii. 262.

ing Westminster 'the third University of England.' The heads of the three were together to preside over the examinations of the School. The oath of the members of the Chapter of Westminster was almost identical with that of the Masters and Fellows of Trinity¹ and Queen's Colleges, Cambridge; couched in the magnificent phraseology of that first age of the Reformation, that they 'would always prefer truth to custom, the Bible to tradition'—('vera consuetis, scripta non scriptis, semper antehabiturum')—'that they would embrace with their whole soul the true religion of Christ.' The constitution of the body was that not so much of a Cathedral as of a College. The Dean was in the position of 'the Head;' the Masters in the position of the College Tutors or Lecturers. In the College Its collegiate constitution. hall the Dean and the Prebendaries dined, as the Master and Fellows, or as the Dean and Chapter at Christ Church, at the High Table; and below sate all the other members of the body. If the Prebendaries were absent, then, and seemingly not otherwise, it was the duty of the Headmaster to be present.² The Garden of the Infirmary, which henceforth became 'the College Garden,' was, like the spots so called at Oxford and Cambridge, the exclusive possession of the Chapter, as there of the Heads and Fellows of the Colleges.³ So largely was the ecclesiastical element blended with the scholastic, that the Dean, from time to time, seemed almost to supersede the functions of the Headmaster. In the time of Queen Elizabeth he even took boarders

¹ It is also found in King Edward's statutes for the University of Cambridge, as part of the oath to be required of Graduates in Divinity and Masters of Arts. From the oath in the Elizabeth Statutes of St. John's, in other respects identical, this clause is curiously omitted.

² Chapter Book, 1563.

³ Ibid. 1564 and 1606.

into his house. In the time of James I., as we shall see, he became the instructor of the boys. 'I have placed Lord Barry,' says Cecil, 'at the Dean's at Westminster. I have provided bedding and all of my own, with some other things, meaning that for his diet and residence it shall cost him nothing.'

As years have rolled on, the union, once so close, between the different parts of the Collegiate body, has gradually been disentangled; and at times the interests of the School may have been overshadowed by those of the Chapter. Yet it may be truly said that the impulse of that first impact has never entirely ceased. The Headmasters of Westminster have again and again been potentates of the first magnitude in the collegiate circle. They were appointed ¹ to preach sermons for the Prebendaries. They not seldom were Prebendaries themselves. The names of Camden and of Busby were, till our own times, the chief glories of the great profession they adorned; and of all the Schools which the Princes of the Reformation planted in the heart of the Cathedrals of England, Westminster is the only one which adequately rose to the expectation of the Royal Founders.

As in the Monastery, so in the Collegiate Church, the fortunes of the institution must be traced through the history, partly of its chiefs, partly of its build-
ings. William Bill, the first Elizabethan Dean, lived only long enough to complete the Collegiate Statutes, which, however, were never confirmed by the Sovereign. He was buried,² among his predecessors the Abbots, in the Chapel of St. Benedict. There also, after forty years, was laid

THE DEANS.

William Bill,
1560-61 :
buried July
22, in the
Chapel of St.
Benedict.

¹ Chapter Book, Nov. 14, 1564.

² Machyn's *Diary*, July 22, 1561.

his successor, Gabriel Goodman,¹ the Welshman, of whom Fuller says, 'Goodman was his name, and goodness was his nature.' He was the real founder of the present establishment — the 'Edwin' of a second Conquest. Under him took place the allocation of the monastic buildings before described. Under him was rehabilitated the Protestant worship, after the interregnum of Queen Mary's Benedictines. The old copes were used up for canopies. The hangings were given to the College.² A waste place found at the west end of the Abbey was to be turned into a garden.³ A keeper was appointed for the monuments.⁴ The order of the Services was, with some slight variations, the same that it has been ever since. The early prayers were at 6 A. M. in Henry VII.'s Chapel, with a lecture on Wednesdays and Fridays. The musical service was, on week days, at 9 A. M. to 11 A. M. and at 4 P. M., and on Sundays at 8 A. M. to 11 A. M. and from 4 P. M. to 5 P. M. The Communion was administered on the Festivals, and on the first Sunday in the month. To the sermons to be preached by the Dean at Christmas, Easter, and All Saints, were added Whitsunday and the Purification. The Prebendaries at this time were very irregular in their attendance — some absent altogether — 'some disaffected'⁵ — and would not come to church.' When they did come, they occupied a pew called the 'Knight's Pew.'

Goodman's occupation of the Deanery was, long after his death, remembered by an apartment known by the

¹ See *Memoirs of Dean Goodman* by Archdeacon Newcome (Ruthin, 1816).

² Chapter Book, 1566 and 1470.

³ *Ibid.* 1593.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1607.

⁵ State Papers, 1635-36.

name of 'Dean Goodman's Chamber.'¹ He addressed the House of Commons in person to preserve the privileges of sanctuary to his Church, and succeeded for a time in averting the change. He was the virtual founder of the Corporation of Westminster, of which the shadow still remains in the twelve Burgesses, the High Steward, and the High Bailiff of Westminster — the last relic of the 'temporal power' of the ancient Abbots. His High Steward was no less a person than Lord Burleigh.²

To the School he secured 'the Pest House' or 'Sanatorium' on the river-side at Chiswick,³ and planted with his own hands a row of elms, some of which The Pest House at Chiswick. are still standing in the adjacent field. It is on record that Busby resided there, with some of his scholars, in the year 1657. When, in our own time, this house was in the tenure of Mr. Berry and his two celebrated daughters, the names of Montague Earl of Halifax, John Dryden, and other pupils of Busby, were to be seen on its walls. Dr. Nicolls was the last Master who frequented it. Till quite recently a piece of ground was reserved for the games of the Scholars. Of late years its use has been superseded by the erection of a Sanatorium in the College Garden.

Goodman might already well be proud of the School, which had for its rulers Alexander Nowell and William Camden. Nowell, whose life belongs to St. Nowell, Headmaster, 1463. Paul's, of which he afterwards became the Dean, was remarkable at Westminster as the founder

¹ Archives. — He gave two of the bells, which still bear the inscription, '*Patrem laudate sonantibus cultum. Gabriel Goodman Decanus, 1598.*'

² Strype's *Mem. of Parker*. See Chapter IV.

³ There had before been a house for the 'children' at Wheethampsted and at Putney. (Chapter Book, 1515, 1561.)

of the Terence Plays.¹ The illustrious Camden, after having been Second Master,² was then, though a layman, by the Queen's request, appointed Headmaster, Camden, Headmaster, 1598-99. and in order that 'he might be near to her call and commandment, and eased of the charge of living,' was to have his 'food and diet' in the College Hall.³ 'I know not,' he proudly writes, 'who may say I was ambitious, who contented myself in Westminster School when I writ my "Britannia."'⁴

Lancelot Andrewes, the most devout and, at the same time, the most honest⁵ of the nascent High Church party of that period, lamented alike by Clarendon and by Milton, was Dean for five years. Under his care, probably in the Deanery, met the Westminster Committee of the Authorised Version of James I., to which was confided the translation of the Old Testament, from Genesis to Kings, and of the Epistles in the New. In him the close connection of the Abbey with the School reached its climax. 'The Monastery of the West' (τὸ ἐπιζεύριον) was faithfully remembered in his well-known 'Prayers.' Dean Williams, in the next generation, 'had heard much what pains Dr. Andrewes did take both day and night to train up the youth bred in the Public School, chiefly the *alumni* of the College so called;' and in answer to his questions, Hacket, who had been one of these scholars, told him how strict that excellent man was to charge our masters that they should give us lessons out of none but the

¹ *Alumni Westmonast.*, p. 2.

² Chapter Book, 1587.

³ State Papers, 1594.

⁴ *Alumni Westmonast.*, p. 13. (For Camden's tomb see Chapter IV. p. 137.)

⁵ See his conduct to Abbot in his misfortunes, and his rebuke to Neale. Andrewes was appointed Bishop of Chichester 1605, translated

most classical authors ; that he did often supply the place both of the head-schoolmaster and usher for the space of an whole week together, and gave us not an hour of loitering-time from morning to night : how he caused our exercises in prose and verse to be brought to him, to examine our style and proficiency ; that he never walked to Chiswick for his recreation without a brace of this young fry ; and in that wayfaring leisure had a singular dexterity to fill those narrow vessels with a funnel. And, which was the greatest burden of his toil, sometimes thrice in a week, sometimes oftener, he sent for the uppermost scholars to his lodgings at night, and kept them with him from eight to eleven, unfolding to them the best rudiments of the Greek tongue and the elements of the Hebrew Grammar ; and all this he did to boys without any compulsion of correction — nay, I never heard him utter so much as a word of austerity among us.¹

In these long rambles to Chiswick he in fact indulged² his favourite passion from his youth upwards of walking either by himself or with some chosen companions,

with whom he might confer and argue and recount their studies : and he would often profess, that to observe the grass, herbs, corn, trees, cattle, earth, water, heavens, any of the creatures, and to contemplate their natures, orders, qualities, virtues, uses, was ever to him the greatest mirth, content, and recreation that could be : and this he held to his dying day.

He was succeeded by Neale, who thence ascended the longest ladder of ecclesiastical preferments recorded in

to Ely 1609, and to Winchester 1619 ; died September 25, 1626 ; buried in St. Saviour's, Southwark.

¹ Hacket's *Life of Williams* ; Russell's *Life of Andrewes*, pp. 90, 91. — Brian Duppa, who succeeded Andrewes in the See of Winchester, learned Hebrew from him at this time. (Duppa's Epitaph in the Abbey.)

² Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*.

our annals.¹ Years afterwards they met, on the well-known occasion when Waller the poet heard the witty rebuke which Andrewes gave to Neale as they stood behind the chair of James I. Neale was educated at Westminster, and pushed forward into life by Dean Goodman and the Cecils. He was installed as Dean on the memorable 5th of November, 1605; and after his elevation to the See of Lichfield and Coventry, he was deputed by James I. to conduct to the Abbey the remains of Mary Stuart from Peterborough.² It was in his London residence, as Bishop of Durham, that he laid the foundation of the fortunes of his friend Laud. To him, as Dean, and Ireland,³ as Master, was commended young George Herbert for Westminster School, where 'the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed marked out for piety and to have the care of heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him.'⁴

The two Deans who succeeded, Montaigne⁵ (or Montain) and Tounson,⁶ leave but slight materials. It

¹ Neale was appointed to the See of Rochester in 1608, and was thence translated to Lichfield and Coventry 1610, to Lincoln 1614, to Durham 1617, to Winchester 1627, and to York 1631. He was buried in All Saints' Chapel, in York Minster, 1640.

² Le Neve's *Lives*, ii. 143. See Chapter III. A statement of the Abbey revenues in his time is in the State Papers, vol. lviii. No. 42.

³ Ireland went abroad in 1610, nominally for ill health, really under suspicion of Popery. (Chapter Book, 1610.)

⁴ Walton's *Life*, ii. 24. Amongst the Prebendaries at this time were Richard Hakluyt, the geographer, and Adrian Saravia, the friend of Hooker. It has been sometimes said that Cassaubon held a stall at Westminster, but of this there is no evidence.

⁵ Montaigne was appointed Bishop of Lincoln 1617, translated to London 1621, Durham 1627, York 1628. Died and buried at Cawood, 1628.

⁶ Tounson was appointed Bishop of Salisbury 1620. Buried at the entrance of St. Edmund's Chapel, 1621. He was uncle to Fuller.

would seem that a suspicion of Montaigne's ceremonial practices was the first beginning of the transfer of the worship of the House of Commons from the Abbey to St. Margaret's. It is recorded that they declined to receive the Communion at Westminster Abbey, 'for fear of copes and wafer cakes.'¹ The Dean and Canons strongly resented this, but gave way on the question of the bread. Tounson, as we have seen, was with Raleigh in the neighbouring Gatehouse twice on the night before his execution, and on the scaffold remained with him to the last, and asked him in what faith he died.² On his appointment to the See of Salisbury he was succeeded by the man who has left more traces of himself in the office than any of his predecessors, and than most of his successors. The last churchman who held the Great Seal—the last who occupied at once an Archbishopric and a Deanery—one of the few eminent Welshmen who have figured in history,—John WILLIAMS—carried all his energy into the precincts of Westminster. He might have been head of the Deanery of Westminster from his earliest years; for he was educated at³ Ruthin, the school founded by his predecessor and countryman Dean Goodman. His own interest in the Abbey was intense.⁴ Abbot Islip and Bishop Andrewes were his two models amongst his predecessors—the one from his benefactions to the Abbey, the other from his services to the School:—

George
Montaigne,
1610-17.
Richard
Tounson,
1617-20.

John
Williams,
1620-50.

¹ State Papers, 1614, 1621.

² See Chapter V.

³ See Notices of Archbishop Williams by B. H. Beedham, p. 8.

⁴ He had the usual troubles of imperious rulers. Ladies with yellow ruffs he forbade to be admitted into his church. (State Papers, vol. cxiii. No. 18, March 11, 1620-21.) He also carried on the war with the House of Commons which his predecessors had begun. They

The piety and liberality of Abbot Islip to this domo came into Dr. Williams by transmigration; who, in his entrance into that place, found the Church in such decay, that all that passed by, and loved the honour of God's house, shook their heads at the stones that dropped down from the pinnacles. Therefore, that the ruins of it might be no more a reproach, this godly Jehoiada took care for the Temple of the Lord, to repair it, 'set it in its state, and to strengthen it.'

His benefactions to the Abbey,

He began at the south-east part, which looked the more deformed with decay, because it was coupled with a later building, the Chapel of King Henry VII., which was tight and fresh. The north-west part also, which looks to the Great Sanctuary, was far gone in dilapidations: the great buttresses, which were almost crumbled to dust with the injuries of the weather, he re-edified with durable materials, and beautified with elegant statues (among whom Abbot Islip had a place), so that £4500 were expended in a trice upon the workmanship. All this was his cost: neither would he impatronise his name to the credit of that work which should be raised up by other men's collatitious liberality.¹

For their further satisfaction, who will judge of good works by visions and not by dreams, I will cast up, in a true audit, other deeds of no small reckoning, conducing greatly to the welfare of that college, church, and liberty, wherein piety and beneficence were reluctant in despite of jealousies. First, that God might be praised with a cheerful noise in His sanctuary, he procured the sweetest music, both for the organ and for the voices of all parts, that

to the Choir,

claimed to appoint their own precentor at St. Margaret's, 'Dr. Usher, an Irishman,' doubtless the future Primate. Williams claimed the right of nomination on the ground that St. Margaret's was under his cure. The Commons, after threatening migration to St. Paul's, Christ Church, and the Temple, by the King's order at last returned to St. Margaret's. (State Papers, Feb. 22, 1821-22.)

¹ A Chapter account, signed by the Dean and eight of the Canons, repudiates the calumny that the Dean had made the repairs 'out of the diet and bellies of the Prebendaries.' (Chapter Book, December 8, 1628.)

ever was heard in an English choir. In those days that Abbey, and Jerusalem Chamber, where he gave entertainment to his friends, were the volaries of the choicest singers that the land had bred. The greatest masters of that delightful faculty frequented him above all others, and were never nice to serve him; and some of the most famous yet living will confess he was never nice to reward them: a lover could not court his mistress with more prodigal effusion of gifts. With the same generosity and strong propension of mind to enlarge the boundaries of learning, he converted a waste room, situate in the east side of the Cloisters, ^{to the} ^{Library,} into Plato's Portico, into a goodly Library:¹ modelled it into decent shape, furnished it with desks and chairs, accoutred it with all utensils, and stored it with a vast number of learned volumes; for which use he lighted most fortunately upon the study of that learned gentleman, Mr. Baker, of Highgate, who, in a long and industrious life, had collected into his own possession the best authors of all sciences, in their best editions, which, being bought at £500 (a cheap pennyworth for such precious ware), were removed into this storehouse. When he received thanks from all the professors of learning in and about London, far beyond his expectations, because they had free admittance to suck honey from the flowers of such a garden as they wanted before, it compelled him to unlock his cabinet of jewels, and bring forth his choicest manuscripts. A right noble gift in all the books he gave to this Serapeum, but especially the parchments. Some good authors were conferred by other benefactors, but the richest

¹ For the first formation of this Library, see p. 114. — The order for its repair and furniture, May 16, 1587, seems to have been imperfectly carried out; and, accordingly, when Williams 're-edified it,' it required a new order to arrange it properly. Williams replenished it with books to the value of £2000, and Richard Goulard, 'for his very great and assiduous pains for the last two years past, as in the choice so in the well ordering of the books,' was made Librarian, 'with a place and diet at the Dean and Prebendaries' table in the College Hall.' (Chapter Book, January 22, 1625-26.)

fruit was shaken from the boughs of this one tree, which will keep green in an unfading memory in despite of the tempest of iniquity. I cannot end with the erection of this Library : for this Dean gratified the College with many other benefits. When he came to look into the state of the house, he found it in a debt of £300 by the hospitality of the table. It had then a brotherhood of most worthy Prebendaries — Mountford, Sutton, Laud, Caesar, Robinson, Darell, Fox, King, Newell, and the rest ; but ancient frugal diet was laid aside in all places, and the prices of provisions in less than fifteen years were doubled in all markets, by which enhancement the debt was contracted, and by him discharged. Not long after, to the number of the forty scholars he added ^{to the School,} four more, distinguished from the rest in their habit of violet-coloured gowns, for whose maintenance he purchased lands.¹ These were adopted children ; and in this diverse from the natural children, that the place to which they are removed, when they deserve it by their learning, is St. John's College, in Cambridge ; and in those days, when good turns were received with the right hand, it was ^{to the} esteemed among the praises of a stout and vigilant ^{Burgesses.} Dean, that whereas a great limb of the liberties of the city (of Westminster) was threatened to be cut off by the encroachments of the higher power of the Lord Stewart of the King's household, and the Knight-Marshal with his tipstaves, he stood up against them with a wise and confident spirit, and would take no composition to let them share in those privileges, which by right they never had ; but preserved the charter of his place in its entire jurisdiction and laudable immunities.²

In 1621 Williams succeeded Bacon as Lord Keeper. It is in this capacity that he is known to us in his por-

¹ Both here and at St. John's, the funds which he left for these purposes were wholly inadequate to maintain them.

² Hacket, pp. 45, 46.

traits,¹ with his official hat on his head, and the Great Seal by his side. The astonishment produced by this unwonted elevation — his own incredible labours to meet the exigencies of the office — must be left to his biographer. For its connection with Westminster, it is enough to record that on the day when he took his place in Court, 'he set out early in the morning with the company of the Judges and some few more, and passing through the Cloisters, he carried them with him into the Chapel of Henry VII., where he prayed on his knees (silently, but very devoutly, as might be seen by his gesture) almost a quarter of an hour; then rising up very cheerfully, he was conducted with no other train to a mighty confluence that expected him in Westminster Hall, whom, from the Bench of the Court of Chancery [then at the upper end of the Hall], he greeted' with his opening speech.²

In that same Chapel, following the precedents of the Reformation, he had, a short time before, been consecrated Bishop — not (as usual) at Lambeth,³ because of the scruple which he professed to entertain at 'receiving that solemnity' from the hands of Archbishop Abbot, who had just shot the gamekeeper at Bramshill. It was the See of Lincoln which was bestowed on him — 'the largest diocese in the land, because this new elect had the largest wisdom to superintend so great a circuit. Yet, inasmuch as the revenue of it was not great, it was well pieced out

Lord
Keeper,
July 10,
1621; re-
signed the
seal, Oct. 30,
1625;

Bishop of
Lincoln,
Nov. 11,
1621.

¹ There are two portraits of him in the Deanery, one in the Chapter Library, which was repainted 1823. (Chapter Book, June 23, 1823.)

² Hacket, p. 71.

³ So Land (Nov. 18, 1621) was consecrated in the Chapel of London House.

with a grant¹ to hold the Deanery of Westminster, into which he shut himself fast, with as strong bars and bolts as the law could make.' In answer to the obvious objections that were made to this accumulation of dignities, the locality of Westminster plays a considerable part:—

The port of the Lord Keeper's place must be maintained in some convenient manner. Here he was handsomely housed, which, if he quitted, he must trust to the King to provide one for him. . . . Here he had some supplies to his housekeeping from the College in bread and beer, corn and fuel. . . . In that College he needed to entertain no under-servants or petty officers, who were already provided to his hand. . . . And it was but a step from thence to Westminster Hall, where his business lay; and it was a lodging which afforded him marvellous quietness, to turn over his papers and to serve the King. He might have added (for it was in the bottom of his breast) he was loth to stir from that seat where he had the command of such exquisite music.²

These arguments were more satisfactory to himself than to his enemies, in whose eyes he was a kind of ecclesiastical monster, and who ironically describe him as having thus become 'a perfect diocese in himself'³—Bishop, Dean, Prebend, Residentiary, and Parson.⁴

¹ As long as he held the Great Seal. (State Papers, 1621.)

² Hacket, p. 62. — He also kept the Rectory of Walgrave, which he justified to Hacket by the examples of 'Elijah's commons in the obscure village of Zarepheth, Anselm's Cell at Bec, Gardiner's Mastership of Trinity Hall, Plautus's fable of the Mouse with many Holes.' 'Walgrave,' he said, 'is but a mousehole; and yet it will be a pretty fortification to entertain me if I have no other home to resort to.' For a description of Walgrave, see Beedham's *Notices of Archbishop Williams*, p. 23. His next neighbour (at Wold) was his immediate predecessor, Dean Tounson.

³ He was dispensed by the Chapter from all residence for a year. (Chapter Book, January 27, 1625.)

⁴ Heylin's *Cyprianus*, p. 86. There was a strong belief that during

The scene which follows introduces us to a new phase in the history of the Jerusalem Chamber—its convivial aspect, which, from time to time, it has always retained since : —

When the conferences about the marriage of Prince Charles with Henrietta Maria were gone so far, and seemed, as it were, to be over the last fire, and fit for projection, his Majesty would have the Lord Keeper taken into the Cabinet ; and, to make him known by a mark of some good address to the French gallants, upon the return of the Ambassadors to London, he sent a message to him to signify that it was his pleasure that his Lordship should give an entertainment to the Ambassadors and their train on Wednesday following—it being Christmas day with them, according to the Gregorian præ-occupation of ten days before our account. The King's will signified, the invitement at a supper was given and taken ; which was provided in the College of Westminster, in the room named Hierusalem Chamber ;¹ but for that night it might have been called Lucullus his Apollo. But the ante-past was kept in the Abbey ; as it went before the feast, so it was beyond it, being purely an episcopal collation. The Ambassadors, with the nobles and gentlemen in their company, were brought in at the north gate of the Abbey, which was stuck with flam-beaux everywhere both within and without the Quire, that strangers might cast their eyes upon the stateliness of the church. At the door of the Quire the Lord Keeper besought

Entertain-
ments in the
Jerusalem
Chamber.
Dec. 13, 1638.

the Spanish journey he had made interest with Buckingham to add to his honour yet another dignity—that of Cardinal. (See *Sydney Papers*, Note A.)

¹ The first distinct notice of the Jerusalem Chamber being used for the Chapter is in Williams's time. (Chapter Book, December 13, 1638.) It was probably in commemoration of this French entertainment that Williams put up in the Chamber the chimney-piece of cedar-wood which has his arms and the heads of King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria.

their Lordships to go in and to take their seats there for a while, promising, on the word of a bishop, that nothing of ill relish should be offered before them, which they accepted; and at their entrance the organ¹ was touched by the best finger of that age—Mr. Orlando Gibbons. While a verse was played, the Lord Keeper presented the Ambassadors, and the rest of the noblest quality of their nation, with our Liturgy, as it spake to them in their own language; and in the delivery of it used these few words, but pithy: ‘that their Lordships at leisure might read in that book in what form of holiness our Prince worshipped God, wherein he durst say nothing savoured of any corruption of doctrine, much less of heresy, which he hoped would be so reported to the Lady Princess Henrietta.’ The Lords Ambassadors and their great train took up all the stalls, where they continued about half an hour; while the quiremen, vested in their rich copes,² with their choristers, sang three several anthems with most exquisite voices before them. The most honourable and the meanest persons of the French all that time uncovered with great reverence, except that Secretary Villoclore alone kept on his hat. And when all others carried away the Books of Common Prayer commended to them, he only left his in the stall of the Quire, where he had sate, which was not brought after him (*Ne Margarita*, etc.) as if he had forgot it.³

Another scene, which brings before us Christmas Day as then kept in the Abbey and in the College Hall, belongs to this time. Amongst the guests was a French Abbot, ‘but a gentleman that held his abbacy in a lay capacity.’ He expressed a desire to be present upon our Christmas Day in the morning:—

¹ For Williams’s delight in music at Buckdon, see Cade’s Sermon on Conscience (quoted in Notices, p. 31).

² The mention of the rich copes of the ‘quiremen’ (i. e. of the lay vicars) is worth noting, as showing in what sense these vestments were then applied in the Abbey.

³ Bernard’s *Heylin*, pp. 162, 194.

The Abbot kept his hour to come to church upon that High Feast; and a place was well fancied aloft, with a lattice and curtains to conceal him. Mr. William Boswell, like Philip riding with the treasurer of Queen Candace in the same chariot, sate with him, directing him in the process of all the sacred offices performed, and made clear explanation to all his scruples.¹ The church-work of that ever-blessed day fell to the Lord Keeper to perform it, but in the place of the Dean of that Collegiate Church. He sung the service, preached the sermon, consecrated the Lord's Table, and (being assisted with some of the Prebendaries) distributed the elements of the Holy Communion to a great multitude meekly kneeling upon their knees. Four hours and better were spent that morning before the congregation was dismissed with the episcopal blessing. The Abbot was entreated to be a guest at the dinner provided in the College Hall, where all the members of that incorporation feasted together, even to the Eleemosynaries, called the Beadsmen of the Foundation; no distinction being made, but high and low eating their meat with gladness together upon the occasion of our Saviour's nativity and it might not be forgotten that the poor shepherds were admitted to worship the Babe in the Manger as well as the potentates of the East, who brought rich presents to offer up at the shrine of His cradle. All having had their comfort both in spiritual and bodily repast, the Master of the Feast and the Abbot, with some few beside, retired into a gallery.²

Christmas
Day with
the French
Abbot, Dec.
25, 1624.

In this gallery — whether that above the Hall, or the corridor — or possibly the long chamber in the Deanery, we must conceive the conversation, as carried on between the Lord Keeper and 'his brother Abbot,'

¹ Probably in the organ-loft. Boswell was Williams's secretary.

² Hacket, pp. 211, 212. A reception in some respects similar was given to the Greek Archbishop of Syra in the Jerusalem Chamber in 1870.

on the comparison, suggested by what the Frenchman had seen, between the Church of England and the Continental Churches, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. Let them part with the concluding remark of the Lord Keeper:—‘I used to say it often that there ought to be no secret antipathies in Divinity or in churches for which no reason can be given. But let every house sweep the dust from their own door. We have done our endeavour, God be praised, in England to model a Churchway which is not afraid to be searched into by the sharpest critics for purity and antiquity. But, as Pacatus said in his panegyric in another case, *Parum est quando cœperit terminum non habebit*. Yet I am confident it began when Christ taught upon earth, and I hope it shall last till He comes again.’ ‘I will put my attestation thus far to your confidence’ (said the Abbot), ‘that I think you are not far from the Kingdom of Heaven.’ So, with mutual smiles and embraces, they parted.

This was the last year of Williams’s power and favour at Court. Within three months from this entertainment King James died. The Dean was present during his last hours, and at his funeral in the Abbey preached the famous sermon, on the text (2 Chron. ix. 31), ‘Solomon slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the city of David his father,’ and (as his biographer adds) ‘*no farther*’ (*i. e.* with a studious omission of ‘Rehoboam his son’). ‘He never studied anything with more care, taking for his pattern Fisher’s sermon at the funeral of Henry VII., and Cardinal Peron’s sermon for Henry IV. of France.’¹

¹ Two other sermons were preached by him in the Abbey before the House of Lords; one on Ash Wednesday, Feb. 18, 1628, the other on April 6, 1628 (on Gal. vi. 14).

Then the power of Williams in Westminster suddenly waned. His rival Laud,¹ who was his bitter antagonist amongst the Prebendaries of Westminster, was now in the ascendant. The slight put upon him at the Coronation of Charles I. has been already mentioned, and henceforth he resided chiefly at his palace near Lincoln, only coming up to Westminster at the times absolutely required by the Statutes of the Abbey. Two scenes in the Abbey belong to this period. The first is in the early morning of Trinity Sunday, 1626, in Henry VII.'s Chapel. It was the ordination of the saintly layman Nicholas Ferrar to his perpetual Diaconate by Laud as Bishop of St. David's, to whom he was brought by his tutor, Laud's friend, Dean Linsell. Apparently they three alone were present. Laud had been prepared by Linsell 'to receive him there with very particular esteem, and with a great deal of joy, that he was able to lay hands on so extraordinary a person. So he was ordained deacon and no more, for he protested he durst not advance one step higher.' . . . 'The news of his taking orders quickly spread all over the city and the court.'² Some blamed him, but others, with Sir Edwin Sandys, approved. Another less edifying incident takes us to the Cloisters at night.³ It is Lilly the astrologer who speaks, in the year 1637:—

¹ For the attention which Laud devoted to the School, see the interesting regulations of its hours and studies preserved in his handwriting. (*Lusus West.*, ii. 330.)

² Jebb's *Life of Ferrar*. (Mayor's *Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 226.) The same incident is told in the life by his brother. (*Ibid.* p. 24.) 'They two went to Westminster Chapel, his tutor having spoken to Bishop Laud . . . to persuade him to be there, and to lay his hands upon him to make him Deacon.'

³ This doubtless suggested a well-known passage in the *Antiquary*.

Davy Ramsey, his Majesty's clock-maker, had been informed that there was a great quantity of treasure buried in the Cloyster of Westminster Abbey ; he acquaints Dean Williams therewith, who was also then Bishop of Lincoln ; the Dean gave him liberty to search after it, with this proviso, that if any was discovered, his church should have a share of it. Davy Ramsey finds out one John Scott, who lived in Pudding Lane, and had sometime been a page (or such like) to the Lord Norris, and who pretended the use of the Mosical Rods, to assist him herein ; I was desired to join with him, unto which I consented. One winter's night Davy Ramsey with several gentlemen, myself, and Scott, entered the Cloysters ; Davy Ramsey brought an half-quartern sack to put the treasure in ; we played the hazel-rod round about the Cloyster ; upon the west side of the Cloysters the rods turned one over another, an argument that the treasure was there. The labourers digged at least six foot deep, and then we met with a coffin ; but in regard it was not heavy, we did not open, which we afterwards much repented. From the Cloysters we went into the Abbey-Church, where, upon a sudden (there being no wind when we began), so fierce, so high, so blustering and loud a wind did rise, that we verily believed the west end of the church would have fallen upon us ; our rods would not move at all ; the candles and torches, all but one, were extinguished, or burned very dimly. John Scott, my partner, was amazed, looked pale, knew not what to think or do, until I gave directions and command to dismiss the dæmons ; which when done, all was quiet again, and each man returned unto his lodging late, about 12 a clock at night ; I could never since be induced to joyn with any in such like actions. The true miscarriage of the business was by reason of so many people being present at the operation, for there was above thirty, some laughing, others deriding us ; so that if we had not dismissed the dæmons, I believe most part of the Abbey-Church had been blown down ; secrecy and intelligent operators, with a strong con-

fidence and knowledge of what they are doing, are best for this work.¹

Amongst the thirty-six articles of complaint raised against Williams by his enemies in the Chapter, many had direct reference to his Westminster life—such as, ‘that he came too late for service,’ ‘came without his habit on,’ etc. The ‘articles,’ says Hacket (speaking almost as if he had seen their passage over the venerable pinnacles), ‘flew away over the Abbey, like a flock of wild geese, if you cast but one stone amongst them.’² Williams was also expressly told that ‘the lustre in which he lived at Westminster gave offence to the King, and that it would give more content if he would part with his Deanery, his Majesty not approving of his being so near a neighbour to Whitehall.’ One great prelate (evidently Laud) plainly said, in the presence of the King ‘that the Bishop of Lincoln lived in as much pomp as any Cardinal in Rome, for diet, music, and attendance.’³ But, in spite of his love for music and the occasional splendour of the services, it would seem that the peculiar innovations of the Laudian school never permanently prevailed in the Abbey. At the time when other churches were blazing with hundreds of wax tapers on Candlemas Day, it was observed that in the Abbey there were none even in the evening.⁴ His enemies at last succeeded in procuring his fall and imprisonment, and a Commission still remains on the Chapter Books, authorising the Chapter to carry on the business

His first
imprison-
ment,
1637-40.

¹ Lilly's *History of his Life and Times*, 1602-1681, pp. 32, 33. London, 1715.

² Hacket, pp. 91, 92.

³ Fuller's *Church History*.

⁴ Catalogue of superstitious observances, printed for Hinscott, 1642, p. 27.

in his absence. Peter Heylin, Laud's chaplain, was now supreme as treasurer and subdean.¹ A petition from him to the King describes the difficulty which he experienced in keeping up the ancient custom of closing the gates at 10 P.M.² The Deanery was Ussher at the Deanery. made over to Ussher. A letter³ to him from Laud curiously connects the past history of Westminster with the well-known localities of the present day:—

As I was coming from the Star-Chamber this day se'nnight at night, there came to me a gentlemanlike man, who, it seems, some way belongs to your Grace. He came to inform me that he had received some denial of the keys of the Dean of Westminster's lodgings. I told him that I had moved his Majesty that you might have the use of these lodgings this winter-time, and that his Majesty was graciously pleased that you should have them; and that I had acquainted Dr. Newell, the Subdean of the College, with so much, and did not find him otherwise than willing thereunto. But, my Lord, if I mistake not, the error is in this: the gentleman, or somebody else to your use, demanded the keys of your lodging, if I misunderstood him not. Now the keys cannot⁴ be delivered, for the King's scholars must come hither daily to dinner and supper in the Hall, and the butlers and other officers must come in to attend them. And to this end there is a porter, by office and oath, that keeps the keys. Besides, the Prebends must come into their Chapter House, and, as I think, during the Chapter-time

¹ He repaired the West and South Aisle; and 'new vaulted the curious arch over the preaching place, which looketh now most magnificently, and the roof thereof to be raised to the same height as the rest of the Church.' (Bernard's *Heylin*, p. 173.)

² State Papers, vol. 1837.

³ Ussher's *Works*, xvi. 536, 537.

⁴ This implies a gate between the Cloister and the Deanery.

have their diet in the Hall. But there is room plentiful enough for your Grace besides this. I advised this gentleman to speak again with the Subdean, according to this direction, and more I could not possibly do. And by that time these letters come to you, I presume the Subdean will be in town again. And if he be, I will speak with him, and do all that lies in me to accommodate your Grace. Since this, some of the Bishop of Lincoln's friends whisper privately that he hopes to be in Parliament, and, if he be, he must use his own house. And whether the Subdean have heard anything of this or no, I cannot tell. Neither do I myself know any certainty, but yet did not think it fit to conceal anything that I hear in this from you.

On the meeting of the Long Parliament Williams was released, and 'conducted into the Abbey Church, when he officiated, it being a day of humiliation, as Dean of Westminster, more honoured ^{Williams's return.} at the first by Lords and Commons than any other of his order.'

The service at which he attended was, however, disturbed by the revival of an old feud between himself and his Prebendaries. Each had long laid claim to what was called 'the great pew' on the north side of the Choir, near the pulpit, and immediately under the portrait of Richard II.¹ Williams insisted, by a tradition reaching back to Dean Goodman, that this pew was his own by right, and by him granted to noblemen and 'great ladies,' whilst the Prebendaries were to sit in their own stalls, or with the Scholars. Here he sate on the occasion of his triumphant return. It so chanced that his old enemy Peter Heylin, in the

¹ State Papers, 1635. See Chapter III. p. 124. It seems to have been used as the seat of the Lord Keepers and Chancellors on occasion of their coming to service in the Abbey.

newly adorned pulpit, was 'preaching his course, and when, at a certain point, the Royalist Peter Heylin in the pulpit. Prebendary launched out into his usual invectives against the Puritans, the Dean, 'sitting in the great pew,' and inspired, as it were, by that old battle-field of contention, knocked aloud with his staff on the adjacent pulpit, saying, 'No more of that point — no more of that point, Peter.' 'To which the Doctor readily answered, without hesitation, or without the least sign of being dashed out of countenance, I have a little more to say, my Lord, and then I have done.'¹ He then continued in the same strain, and the Dean afterwards sent for the sermon.

The tide of events which flowed through Westminster Hall in the next year constantly discharged itself into the Abbey. The Subcommittee, composed partly of Episcopalians, partly of Presbyterians, to report on the ecclesiastical questions of the day, sate Conferences in the Jerusalem Chamber, 1640. under Williams's presidency in his beloved Jerusalem Chamber, now for the first time passing into its third phase, that of the scene of ecclesiastical disputations. There they 'had solemn debates six several days,' — 'always entertained at his table with such bountiful cheer as well became a Bishop. But this we beheld as the last course² of all public episcopal treatments.' Some have thought the mutual conferences of such men as Sanderson and

1641. Calamy, Prideaux and Marshall, 'might have produced much good,' in spite of the forebodings of the Court Prelates. But what the issue of this conference would have been is 'only known to

¹ Bernard's *Heylin*, 193. The pulpit was moved to the north side, as now, in the last century. (Chapter Book, June 27, 1779.)

² Fuller's *Church History*, 1640.

Him who knew what the men of Keilah would do.' 'The weaving of their consultations continued till the middle of May, and was fairly on the loom when the bringing in of the bill against Deans and Chapters cut off all the threads, putting such a distance between the aforesaid divines, that never their judgments and scarce their persons met after together.' Meantime the fury of the London populace rose to such a pitch, that Williams — who meantime had just received from the King the prize so long coveted, but now too late for enjoyment, of the See of York — Williams's elevation to York, Dec. 4. was as much in danger from the Parliamentary mob as he had been a year before from Laud and Strafford.

Eyewitnesses have thus informed me of the manner thereof. Of those apprentices who coming up to the Parliament cried, 'No bishops! No bishops!' some, rudely rushing into the Abbey church, were reproved by a verger Attack on the Abbey, Dec. 26. for their irreverent behaviour therein. Afterwards quitting the church, the doors thereof, by command from the Dean, were shut up, to secure the organs and monuments therein against the return of the apprentices. For though others could not foretell the intentions of such a tumult, who could not certainly tell their own, yet the suspicion was probable, by what was uttered amongst them. The multitude presently assault the church (under pretence that some of their party were detained therein), and force a panel out of the north door, but are beaten back by the officers and scholars of the College. Here an unhappy tile was cast by an unknown hand, from the leads or battlements of the church, which so bruised Sir Richard Wiseman, conductor of the apprentices, that he died thereof, and so ended that day's distemper.¹

¹ Fuller's *Church History*, 1641.

All the Welsh blood in Williams's veins was roused, and, as afterwards he both defended and attacked Conway Castle, so now he maintained the Abbey in his own person, 'fearing lest they should seize upon the Regalia, which were in that place under his custody.'¹ The violence of the mob continued to rage so fiercely, that the passage from the House of Lords to the Abbey became a matter of danger. Williams was with difficulty protected home by some of the lay lords, as he returned by torch-light.² He was accompanied by Bishop Hall, who lodged in Dean's Yard. In a state of fury at these insults, he once more had recourse to the Jerusalem Chamber. Twelve

Meeting of
Bishops
in the Jeru-
salem Cham-
ber, Dec. 27.

of the Bishops, with Williams at their head, met there to protest against their violent exclusion from the House of Lords, and were in consequence committed to the Tower. Wil-

liams was released after the abolition of the temporal jurisdiction of the clergy. The Chapter Book contains

Williams's
second im-
prisonment,
Dec. 28,
1641; and
release, May
18, 1642.

only two signatures of Williams as Archbishop of York — one immediately before his second imprisonment, December 21, 1641; one immediately after his release, May 18,

1642. This must have been his last appear-

ance, in the scene of so many interests and so many conflicts, in Westminster. He left the capital to follow the King to York, and never returned.³

The volume in which these signatures are recorded bears witness to the disorder of the times. A few hurried entries on torn leaves are all that mark those

¹ Hacket, p. 176.

² Hall's *Hard Measure*. (Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* pp. 318, 324.)

³ Buried at Llandegay Church, 1650.

eventful years, followed by a series of blank pages, which represent the interregnum of the Commonwealth. During this interregnum the Abbey itself, as we have seen, not only retained still its honour, as the burial-place of the great,¹ but received an additional impulse in that direction, which since that period it has never lost. Many a Royalist, perhaps, felt at the time what Waller expressed afterwards —

When others fell, this, standing, did presage
The Crown should triumph over popular rage;
Hard by that 'House' where all our ills were shap'd,
The auspicious Temple stood, and yet escap'd.²

But the religious services were entirely changed, and whilst the monuments and the fabrics received but little injury, the furniture and ornaments of the Church suffered materially. A Committee was appointed, of which Sir Robert Harley was the head, for the purpose of demolishing 'monuments of superstition and idolatry,' in the Abbey Church of Westminster, and in the windows thereof. The Altar, which, in the earlier part of Williams's rule, had, contrary to the general practice since the Reformation, been placed at the east end of the Choir,³ was brought into the centre of the Church, for the Communion of the House of Commons.⁴ The copes, which had been worn at the Coronations by the Dean and Prebendaries, and probably, on special occasions, by all the members of the Choir, were sold by order of Parliament, and the produce given to the poor of Ireland. The tapestries representing the history of Edward the Confessor were transferred

Puritan
changes,
April 24,
1643.

May 8, 1644.

¹ See Chapter IV.

² Waller on St. James's Park.

³ Bernard's *Heylin*, p. 171.

⁴ Nalson, i. 563. (Robertson on *The Liturgy*, p. 160.)

to the Houses of Parliament. The plate belonging to the College was melted down, to pay for the servants and workmen, or to buy horses.¹ The brass and iron in Henry VII.'s Chapel was ordered to be sold, and the proceeds thereof to be employed according to the directions of the House of Commons. But this apparently was not carried out; as the brass still remains, and the iron gratings were only removed within this century.

In July 1643 took place the only actual desecration to which the Abbey was exposed. It was believed in Royalist circles that soldiers² were quartered in the Abbey, who burnt the altar-rails, sate on benches round the Communion Table, eating, drinking, smoking, and singing—destroyed the organ, and pawned the pipes for ale in the alehouses—played at hare and hounds in the Church, the hares being the soldiers dressed up in the surplices of the Choir—and turned the Chapels and High Altar to the commonest and basest uses.³ It is a more certain fact that Sir Robert Harley, who under his commission from the Parliament took down the crosses at Charing and Cheapside, destroyed the only monument in the Abbey which totally perished in those troubles—the highly decorated altar which served as the memorial of Edward VI.,⁴ and which doubtless attracted attention from Torregiano's terra-cotta statues.

Desecration
of the Abbey.
July 1643.

Destruction
of Edward
VI.'s me-
morial;

¹ Widmore, p. 156. Commons' Journals, April 24, 28, 1643; April 24, May 8, 1644.

² 'Some soldiers of Washborne and Cawood's companies, perhaps because there were no houses in Westminster.'

³ Crull, vol. ii. app. ii. p. 14; *Mercurius Rusticus*, February 1643, p. 153.

⁴ 'Paul's and Westminster were purged of their images.' (Neal's *Puritans*, ii. 136.) This seems to have been the only instance. See

On a suspicion that Williams, with his well-known activity, had carried away the Regalia, the doors of the Treasury, which down to that time had been kept by the Chapter, were forced open,¹ that an inventory of what was to be found there might be presented to the House of Commons. Henry Marten (such was the story) had been entrusted with the welcome task; and England has never seen a ceremony so nearly approaching to the Revolutions of the Continent, as when the stern enthusiast, with the malicious humour for which he was noted, broke open the huge iron chest in the ancient Chapel of the Treasury, and dragged out the crown, sceptre, sword, and robes, consecrated by the use of six hundred years; and put them on George Wither the poet, 'who, being thus crowned and royally arrayed, first marched about the room with a stately garb, and afterwards, with a thousand apish and ridiculous actions, exposed those sacred ornaments to contempt and laughter.'² The English spirit of order still, however, so far presided over the scene, that, after this verification of their safety, they were replaced in the Treasury, and not sold till some time afterwards.

The institution itself was greatly altered, but its general stability was guaranteed. A special ordinance, in 1645, provided for the government of the Abbey, in default of the Dean and Chapter, who were superseded.^{1645.} The School, the almsmen, and the lesser offices still continued; and over it were placed Commis-

Chapter III. p. 206, and *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 154. Fragments probably belonging to them were found in the Western Tower in 1866, and part of the cornice under the pavement of Edward VI.'s vault in 1869.

¹ See Chapter V. p. 56.

² Wood's *Ath.* iii. 1239, col. 1817; Heylin, *Presbyt.* 452, ed. 1672, but not in ed. 1670. (Mr. Forster, *Statesmen*, v. 252, doubts the story.)

sioners consisting of the Earl of Northumberland and other laymen, with the Master of Trinity, the Dean of Christ Church, and the Headmaster of Westminster.¹

Seven Presbyterian ministers were charged with the duty of having a 'morning exercise' in place of the daily service, and the Subdean, before the final dissolution of the Chapter, was ordered to permit them the use of the pulpit. These were — Stephen Marshall, chief chaplain of the Parliamentary army, and (if we may use the expression) Primate of the Presbyterian Church;² William Strong,³ who became the head of an Independent congregation in the Abbey, of which Bradshaw⁴ was a principal member; Herle, the second Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly; Dr. Stanton, afterwards President of Corpus, Oxford, called the 'walking Concordance'; Philip Nye, who, though an uncompromising Independent, was the chief agent in bringing the Presbyterian 'Covenant' across the Border; John Bond, a son of Denis Bond, who afterwards

¹ Stoughton's *Ecc. Hist.* i. 488. — The ordinance vesting the government of the Abbey in Commissioners is given in Widmore, p. 214.

² 'Without doubt the Archbishop of Canterbury had never so great an influence upon the counsels at Court as Dr. Burgess or Mr. Marshall had then upon the Houses.' (Clarendon.) Both Marshall and Strong were buried in the South Transept, and disinterred in 1661. (See Chapter IV.)

³ Thirty-one select sermons were published after his death, 'preached on special occasions by William Strong, that godly, able, and faithful minister of Christ, lately of the Abbey of Westminster.' Of these the first was preached on Dec. 9, 1650, when he was chosen pastor of this Church, on Col. ii. 5, 'Gospel order a church's beauty.' He was also the author of a work on the *Two Covenants*, dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Reid, who transcribed it. For his funeral, see Chapter IV. p. 139.

⁴ This congregation, which sometimes also met in the House of Lords, was continued after him by John Rowe, who remained there till 1661. Dr. Watts as a student belonged to it, but after it had left the Abbey. (*Christian Witness*, 1868, p. 312.)

became Master¹ of the Savoy Hospital, and of Trinity Hall at Cambridge; and Whitaker, Master of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey. At one of these 'morning exercises' was present a young Royalist lady, herself afterwards buried in the Abbey, Dorothy Osborne, beloved first by Henry Cromwell, and then the wife of Sir William Temple. 'I was near laughing yesterday when I should not. Could you believe that I had the grace to go and hear a sermon upon a week day? It is true, and Mr. Marshall was the preacher. He is so famed that I expected vast things from him, and seriously I listened to him at first with as much reverence and attention as if he had been S. Paul. But, what do you think he told us? Why, that if there were no kings, no queens, no lords, no ladies, no gentlemen or gentlewomen in the world, it would be no loss at all to the Almighty. This he said over forty times,² which made me remember it whether I would or not.'

Besides these regular lectures there were, on special occasions, sermons delivered in the Abbey by yet more remarkable men. Owen, afterwards Dean of Christ Church, preached on the day after Charles's execution, and on 'God's work in Zion' (Isaiah xiv. 32) on the opening of Parliament on Sept. 17, 1656. Goodwin, President of Magdalen College, Cambridge, preached in like manner before Oliver Cromwell's First Parliament,³ and Howe, on 'Man's duty in Glorifying God,' before Richard Cromwell's last Parliament.⁴ Here too was heard Baxter's admirable

¹ In the original scheme (Commons' Journals, Feb. 28, 1643), Palmer, Pastor of the New Church, Westminster, and Hill, afterwards Master of Emmanuel, Cambridge, are mentioned.

² From a private letter, quoted in the *Christian Witness* of 1868, p. 310.

³ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ii. 413.

⁴ Ibid. ii. 252, 254.

discourse, which must have taken more than two hours to deliver, on the 'Vain and Formal Religion of the Hypocrite.'

Sept. 4, 1654

But the most remarkable ecclesiastical act that occurred within the precincts of the Abbey during this period was the sitting of the Westminster Assembly. Its proceedings belong to general history. Here is only given enough to connect it with the two scenes of its operations.

The first was in the Church itself. There, doubtless in the Choir of the Abbey, on July 1, 1643, the Assembly met. There were the 121 divines, including four actual and five future bishops. Some few only of these attended, and 'seemed the only Non-conformists for their conformity, whose gowns and canonical habits differed from all the rest.' The rest were Presbyterians, with a sprinkling of Independents, 'dressed in their black cloaks, skull-caps, and Geneva bands. There were the thirty lay assessors,¹ to overlook the clergy . . . just as when the good woman puts a cat into the milkhouse to kill a mouse, she sends her maid to look after the cat lest the cat should eat up the cream.'² Of these Selden was the most conspicuous, already connected with Westminster as Registrar of the College, an office which, apparently, had been created specially for him by Williams.³ Both Houses of Parliament assisted at the opening. So august an assembly had not been in the Abbey since the Conference which ushered in the re-establishment of the Protestant Church under Elizabeth. The sermon was preached by the Prolocutor, Dr. Twiss, on the text, 'I will not

¹ The list is given in Hetherington's *Westminster Assembly*, p. 109.

² Selden's *Table Talk*.

³ Hacket, p. 69.

leave you comfortless.' On its conclusion the divines ascended the steps of Henry VII.'s Chapel. There the roll of names was called over. Out of the 140 members, however, only 69 were present.¹ On the 6th of July they assembled again, and received their instructions from the House of Commons. In Henry VII.'s Chapel, 1643, July 6. Then, from August to October, they discussed the Thirty-nine Articles, and had only reached the sixteenth when they were commanded by the Parliament to take up the question of the Discipline and Liturgy of the Church. On the 17th of August, 'with tears of pity and joy,' the Solemn League and Covenant was brought into the Tudor Chapel. On the 15th of September, with a short expression of delight from Dr. Hoyle, one of the only two Irish Commissioners, Ireland was incorporated in it. In St. Margaret's Church, Sept. 25. On the 25th, for a single day they left the Abbey, to meet the Commons in St. Margaret's Church, and there sign it. On the 15th of October, with a sermon from the other Irish divine,² Dr. Temple — doubtless in the Abbey, it was subscribed by the Lords. There was one³ spectator outside, who has left on record his protest against the Assembly, in terms which, whilst they apply to all attempts at local ecclesiastical authority, show that the reminiscences of the Abbey touched a congenial chord in his own heart. 'Neither is God appointed and confined, where and out of what place His chosen shall be first heard to speak; for He sees not as man sees, chooses not as man chooses, lest we should devote our-

¹ This is about the average relative attendance of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury.

² Reid's *Presbyterianism in Ireland*, i. 407-409; Stoughton's *Ecccl. Hist. of England*, i. 272, 294.

³ Milton's *Areopagitica*, 1644.

selves again to set places and assemblies and outward callings of men, planting our faith one while in the Convocation House,¹ and another while in the Chapel at Westminster; when all the faith and religion that shall there be canonized is not sufficient without plain convincement and the charity of patient instruction to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edify the meanest Christian who desires to walk in the spirit and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made, no, *though Harry VII. himself there, with all his liege tombs about him, should lend their voices from the dead to swell their number.*'

It was not till the end of September that the extreme cold of the interior of the Abbey compelled the Divines to shift their quarters from Henry VII.'s Chapel to the Jerusalem Chamber; as before, so now it was the warm hearth that drew thither alike the dying² King and the grave Assembly. It is at this point that we first have a full picture of their proceedings from one of the Scottish³ Commissioners who arrived at this juncture:⁴—

On Monday morning we sent to both Houses of Parliament for a warrant for our sitting in the Assemblie. This was readilie granted, and by Mr. Hendersone presented to the Proloqutor, who sent out three of their number to convoy us to the Assemblie. Here no mortal man may enter to see or hear, let be to sitt, without ane order in wryte from both Houses of Parliament. When we were brought in, Dr. Twisse had ane long harangue for our welcome, after so long and

¹ See, farther on, the account of Convocation.

² See Chapter V. p. 48.

³ One Irish divine only was present, Dr. Hoyle, Professor of Divinity from Dublin. (Reid's *Presbyterianism in Ireland*, i. 405.)

⁴ *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, vol. ii. pp. 107-109.

hazardous a voyage by sea and land, in so unseasonable a tyme of the year. When he had ended, we satt down in these places, which since we have kept. The like of that Assemblie I did never see, and, as we hear say, the like was never in England, nor anywhere is shortlie lyke to be. They did sitt in Henry VII.'s Chappell, in the place of the Convocation;¹ but since the weather grew cold, they did go to Jerusalem Chamber;² a fair roome ^{Removal to the Jerusalem Chamber.} in the Abbey of Westminster, about the bounds of the Colledge forehall,³ but wyder. At the one end nearest the doore, and both sydes, are stages of seats, as in the new Assemblie-House at Edinburgh, but not so high; for there will be roome but for five or six score. At the upmost end there is a chair set on ane frame, a foot from the earth, for the Mr. Proloquutor, Dr. Twisse. Before it on the ground stands two chairs, for the two Mr. Assessors, Dr. Burgess and Mr. Whyta. Before these two chairs, through the length of the roome, stands a table, at which sitts the two scribes, Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough. The house is all well hung,⁴ and has a good fyre, which is some dainties at London.

¹ For the Convocation, see p. 195.

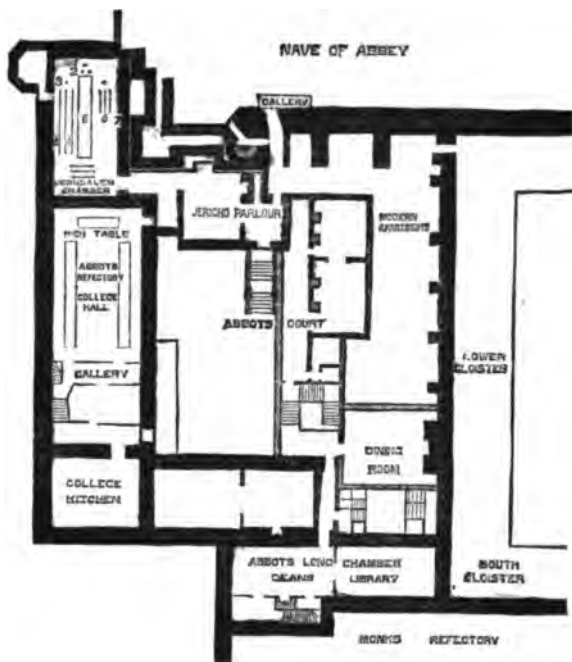
² Fuller (*Church History*, iii. 449) says: 'And what place more proper for the building of Sion (as they propounded it) than the Chamber of Jerusalem (the fairest in the Dean's lodgings, where King Henry IV. died), where these divines did daily meet together?'

³ Probably not the Forehall of Glasgow (destroyed in 1867), which was much larger, but another forehall of the college (destroyed in 1662). See Professor Mitchell's *Minutes of the Westminster Assembly*, p. lxxix.

⁴ The tapestry with which the chamber is now hung, and which, though different, represents its appearance at the time of the Assembly, consists of five pieces: 1. A fragment, apparently representing Goliath challenging the Israelites. 2. The circumcision of Isaac. (These two were hung in the Abbey at the coronation of James II. See Chapter II.) 3. (Probably of the same period.) The adoration of the Wise Men. The two latest additions were the gift of Lord John Thynne from his residence at Haynes, consisting of (4.) The interview of Eliezer and Rebekah. (5.) Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple.

Foranent the table, upon the Proloquutor's right hand, there are three or four rankes or formes. On the lowest we five doe sit; upon the other, at our backs, the members of Parliament deputed to the Assemblie.¹ On the formes foranent us, on the Proloquutor's left hand, going from the upper end of the house to the chimney, and at the other end of the house and backsyde of the table, till it come about to our seats, are four or five stages of formes, whereupon their divines sitte as they please; albeit commonlie they keep the same place. From the chimney to the door there is no seats, but a voyd, about the fire. We meet every day of the week, but Saturday. We sitt commonlie from nine to one or two afternoon. The Proloquutor at the beginning and end has a short prayer. The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he has studied, and very good, beloved of all, and highlie esteemed; but merelie bookish, and not much, as it seems, acquaint with conceived prayer [and] among the unfittest of all the company for any action; so after the prayer, he sitte mute. It was the cannie convoyance of these who guides most matters for their own interest to plant such a man of purpose in the chaire. The one assessour, our good friend Mr. Whyte, has keepest in of the gout since our coming; the other, Dr. Burgess, a very active and sharpe man, supplies, so farr as is decent, the Proloquutor's place. Ordinarily, there will be present about three-score of their divines. These are divided in three committees, in one whereof every man is a member. No man is excluded who pleases to come to any of the three. Every committee, as the Parliament gives orders in wryte to take any purpose to consideration, takes a portion; and in their afternoon meeting prepares matters for the Assemblie, setts doune their minde in distinct

¹ 'The Prince Palatine, constantly present at the debates, heard the Erastians with much delight, as welcoming their opinions for country's sake (his natives, as first born in Heidelberg), though otherwise in his own judgment no favourer thereof. But other Parliament-men listened very favourably to their arguments,' etc. (Fuller, iii. 468.)



1. Prolocutor.
2. The two Assessors.
3. The two Scribes.
4. The Scottish Divines.

5. The M.P.'s.
6. The English Divines.
7. The Fireplace.
8. The Table.

**PLAN OF THE MODERN DEANERY, INCLUDING THE 'ABBOT'S PLACE,'
AND REPRESENTING THE JERUSALEM CHAMBER AT THE TIME OF
THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.**

propositions, backs their propositions with texts of Scripture. After the prayer, Mr. Byfield, the scribe, reads the proposition and Scriptures, whereupon the Assemblie debates in a most grave and orderlie way. No man is called up to speak; but who stands up of his own accord, he speaks so long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedlie calls on his name whom they desyre to hear first. On whom the loudest and maniest voices calls, he speaks. No man speaks to any bot to the Proloquutor. They harangue long and very learnedlie. They studie the questions well beforehand, and prepares their speeches; but withall the men are exceeding prompt and well spoken. I doe marvell at the very accurate and extemporall replyes that many of them usuallie doe make. When, upon everie proposition by itself, and on everie text of Scripture that is brought to confirme it, every man who will has said his whole minde, and the replyes, and duplies, and triplies are heard; then the most part calls, 'To the question.' Byfield the scribe rises from the table, and comes to the Proloquutor's chair, who, from the scribe's book, reads the proposition, and says, 'As many as are in opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say I;' when I is heard, he says, 'As many as think otherwise, say No.' If the difference of I's and No's be cleare, as usuallie it is, then the question is ordered by the scribes, and they go on to debate the first Scripture alleadged for proof of the proposition. If the sound of I and No be near equall, then sayes the Proloquutor, 'As many as say I, stand up;' while they stand, the scribe and others number them in their minde; when they sitt downe, the No's are bidden stand, and they likewise are numbered. This way is clear enough, and saves a great deal of time, which we spend in reading our catalogue. When a question is once ordered, there is no more debate of that matter; but if a man will raige, he is quicklie taken up by Mr. Assessor, or many others, confusedlie crying, 'Speak to order—to order!' No man con-

tradiets another expressie by name, bot most discreetlie speaks to the Proloqutor, and at most holds on the generall, 'The Reverend brother who latelie or last spoke,' 'on this hand,' 'on that ayde,' 'above,' or 'below.' I thought meet once for all to give you a taste of the outward form of their Assemblie. They follow the way of their Parliament. Much of their way is good, and worthie of our imitation: only their longsomenesse is wofull at this time, when their Church and Kingdome lyes under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but cannot get it helped; for being to establish a new platfforme of worship and discipline to their Nation for all time to come, they think they cannot be answerable if solidlie, and at leisure, they doe not examine every point thereof.

Here took place those eager disputes between Selden and Gillespie.¹ Here Selden would tell his adversaries, 'Perhaps in your little pocket-bibles with gilt leaves (which they would often take out and read) the translation may be thus, but the Greek and Hebrew signifies thus and thus,' and so would silence them. He came, 'as Persians used, to see wild asses fight.' 'When the Commons tried him with their new law, these brethren refreshed him with their new Gospel.'² Here Herle, rector of Winwick, delivered his philippics against the Bishops, after one of which he exultingly said to an acquaintance, I'll tell you news. Last night I buried a Bishop in Westminster Abbey.' 'Sure,' was the shrewd reply, 'you buried him in the hope of resurrection.'³ For five years, six months, and twenty-two days, through

¹ Lightfoot, i. 68; Hetherington, p. 252.

² Hetherington, p. 326.

³ *Life of a Lancashire Rector* (Manchester Field Naturalists' and Archæologists' Society, 1878-79, p. 80-86). A relative, apparently a daughter, Margaret Herle, was buried in the Cloisters, 1646-47 (Register).

one thousand one hundred and sixty-three sessions, the Chapel of Henry VII. and the Jerusalem Chamber witnessed their weary labours. Out of these walls came the Directory, the Longer and Shorter Catechism, and that famous Confession of faith which, alone within these Islands, was imposed by law on the whole kingdom; and which, alone of all Protestant Confessions, still, in spite of its sternness and narrowness, retains a hold on the minds of its adherents, to which its fervour and its logical coherence in some measure entitle it. If ever our Northern brethren are constrained by a higher duty to break its stringent obligation, they may perhaps find a consolation in the fact, that the 'Westminster Confession' bears in its very name the sign that it came to them not from the High Church or Hall of Assembly in Edinburgh, but from the apartments of a prelatial dignitary at Westminster, under the sanction of an English Parliament, and under the occasional pressure of the armies of an English king.

Whilst the Jerusalem Chamber was thus employed, the Deanery itself was inhabited by a yet more singular occupant. The office had, on Williams's retirement, been given by the King to Dr. Richard Stewart; but he never took possession, and died in exile at Paris, where he was buried in a Protestant cemetery near St. Germain des Près. The house, meantime, had been granted¹ on lease to Bradshaw, President of the High Court of Justice. He belonged to a small Independent congregation, gathered in the Abbey under the ministry, first of Strong, and then of

Richard
Stewart,
1646-51.

John
Bradshaw,
1649-59.

¹ It was ordered on the 25th of January, i.e. five days before the King's death, 'that the dean's house in Westminster Abbey be provided and furnished for the lodging of the Lord President and his servants, guards, and attendants.'—*State Trials*, iv. 1100.

Rowe. Here, according to tradition, he loved to climb by the winding stair from the Deanery into 'some small chamber' in the South-western Tower. It is, doubtless, that which still exists, with traces of its ancient fireplace, but long since inhabited only by hawks¹ or pigeons. A round piece of timber was long shown here as Bradshaw's rack; and the adjacent gallery was haunted,² as the Westminster boys used to believe, by his ghost. 'This melancholy wretch,' so writes the royalist antiquarian, 'it is said, ended his days in the blackest desperation; but that a church-roof was the nest of such an unclean bird, I have not before heard. Certain it is that he ended his days near this church, but that he spent them in it we have no authority but tradition. Yet it is not improbable that, in some of his fits, he might retire to a place very well suited to such a temper.'³ The more authentic accounts of his death do not exhibit any such remorse. 'Not on the tribunal only,' said Milton, in his splendid eulogy on his character, 'but through his whole life, he seemed to be sitting in judgment on Royalty.' 'Had it to be done over again,' were amongst his last words, speaking of the King's

¹ 'Peregrine falcons take up their abode from October or November until the spring upon Westminster Abbey and other churches in the metropolis: this is well known to the London pigeon fanciers, from the great havoc they make in their flights.' (*Sir John Sebright on Hawking*, 1826.)

² A distinguished old Westminster scholar (the late Lord de Ros), who for a wager passed a night in the Abbey to confront the ghost, long retained a lively recollection of the unearthly sounds of birds and rats through his cold dark imprisonment. The 'rack,' or rather 'wheel,' was merely a part of Wren's machinery for building the South-western Tower, and remained there till 1867. Piles of skeletons of pigeons killed by the hawks were found there, as well as fragments of ordinary meals. A recess called Cromwell's seat, probably from some confusion with Bradshaw, exists in the vaults beneath the College Hall.

³ Dart, i. 65.

execution, 'I would do it.' He was present at the Council of State in 1659. When the proceedings of the army were discussed and justified, and, 'though by long sickness very weak and much exhausted, yet, animated by his ardent zeal and constant affection to the common cause, he stood up and interrupted Colonel Sydenham, declaring his abhorrence of that detestable action, and telling the Council that, being now going to his God, he had not patience to sit there to hear His great name so openly blasphemed, and thereupon departed to his lodgings, and withdrew himself from public employment.' In those lodgings at the Deanery he died,¹ and was, as we have seen, buried with his wife in the course of the same year in Henry VII.'s Chapel, to be disinterred in a few months by the Royalists.

The Prebendaries' houses were given to the seven preachers, and all members of the Capitular and Collegiate body who had not taken the Covenant were removed. Two alone remained. One was Lambert

Osbaldiston,
1622-38,
buried Oct.
3, 1659.

Osbaldiston, who had been for sixteen years Headmaster, and suffered alternately from Laud² and from the Puritans. But he was spared in the general expulsion of the Prebendaries by the Long Parliament, and, probably through his influence, the School was spared also. In the School his successor

Busby,
1638-95.

was the celebrated Busby, a man not commonly suspected of too much compliance, but who, nevertheless, kept his seat unshaken during the contentions of Williams and Laud within the Chapter, through

¹ Ludlow, 317. See Chapter IV.

² He had narrowly escaped standing in the pillory in Dean's Yard, before his own door, for calling Laud 'Hocus Pocus' and the 'Little Vermin.' He was buried in the South Aisle of the Abbey, October 3, 1659. (See *Alumni Westmonast.*, p. 82.)

the fall of the monarchy and the ruin of the Church, both whilst the Abbey was at its highest flight of Episcopal ritual, and whilst it was occupied by Presbyterian preachers, through the Restoration, and through the Revolution, into the reign of William III.; thus having served three dynasties and witnessed three changes of worship. Dr. Busby's history belongs to that of the School rather than of the Abbey; but some of the most striking incidents of his reign are closely connected with the localities of Westminster, and with the passions¹ which were heaving round the Cloisters through this eventful period. One of these is recalled by the bar which extends across the Great School. It is the famous bar over which on Shrove-Tuesday it is the duty of the College cook to throw a pancake, to be scrambled for by the boys and presented to the Dean.² On this bar —

Every one who is acquainted with Westminster School knows that there is a curtain³ which used to be drawn across

¹ For the long quarrel between Busby and Bagshawe, see *Narrative of the Difference between Mr. Busby and Mr. Bagshawe* (1659); also *Alumni Westmonast.*, p. 125.

² For many years it was torn to pieces in the scuffle. But a tradition existing that if any one carried it whole to the Dean, he would receive a guinea, the boys at last agreed that a certain champion should be allowed to secure it as if in fair fight, and from that time the pancake, when presented, has received its proper reward. In later days the failures of an unsuccessful cook, year after year, had nearly broken the custom; till, in 1864, an ancient war-cry was revived, and a shower of books was discharged at the head of the offending minister; he, in return, hurled the fryingpan into the midst, which cut open the head of one of the scholars, who was then allowed by the Dean to carry off the pan in triumph. The whole incident was commemorated in a humorous Homeric poem, entitled *Magiropædomachia*, since published in *Lusus Westmonasterienses*, ii. p. 304; see *ibid.* 201. In the *Gent. Mag.* 1790 the 'cook' is called the 'under clerk.' Brand (i. 83) mentions the custom as having once existed at Eton.

³ 'Dr. Busby admitted me above the curtain.' (Taswell, p. 9.)

the room, to separate the upper school from the lower. A youth happened, by some mischance, to tear the Glynnne and Wake. the above-mentioned curtain. The severity of the Master [Busby] was too well known for the criminal to expect any pardon for such a fault ; so that the boy, who was of a meek temper, was terrified to death at the thoughts of his appearance, when his friend who sate next to him bade him be of good cheer, for that he would take the fault on himself. He kept his word accordingly. As soon as they were grown up to be men, the Civil War broke out, in which our two friends took the opposite sides ; one of them followed the Parliament, the other the Royal party.

As their tempers were different, the youth who had torn the curtain endeavoured to raise himself on the civil list, and the other, who had borne the blame of it, on the military. The first succeeded so well that he was in a short time made a judge under the Protector. The other was engaged in the unhappy enterprise of Penruddock and Groves in the West. Every one knows that the Royal party was routed, and all the heads of them, among whom was the curtain champion, imprisoned at Exeter. It happened to be his friend's lot at the time to go the Western Circuit. The trial of the rebels, as they were then called, was very short, and nothing now remained but to pass sentence on them ; when the judge, hearing the name of his old friend, and observing his face more attentively, which he had not seen for many years, asked him if he was not formerly a Westminster scholar. By the answer, he was soon convinced that it was his former generous friend ; and, without saying anything more at that time, made the best of his way to London, where, employing all his power and interest with the Protector, he saved his friend from the fate of his unhappy associates.¹

¹ *Spectator*, No. cccxiii., by Eustace Budgell, a Westminster scholar. See *Alumni Westmonast.*, p. 568. The Royalist was Colonel William Wake, father of Archbishop Wake ; the Parliamentarian was John Glynnne, Serjeant and Peer under Cromwell, ancestor of the Glynnnes of

Two incidents illustrate the general loyalty of the School, well known through the remark of the Puritan Dean of Christ Church, John Owen, who himself preached (on Jer. xv. 19, 20) in the Abbey the day after the execution: 'It will never be well with the nation till Westminster School is suppressed.' One occurred at the funeral of the Protector. 'Robert Uvedale, one of the scholars, in his boyish indignation against the usurper, snatched one of the escutcheons from the hearse,'¹ The other is recorded by the famous Robert South, who was amongst Busby's scholars, and lies by his side² in the Chancel. 'I see great talents in that sulky boy,' said Busby, 'and I shall endeavour to bring them out.' 'On that very day' (says South, in one of his sermons³), 'that black and eternally infamous day of the King's murder, I myself heard, and am now a witness, that the King was publicly prayed for in this school but an hour or two at most before his sacred head was struck off.'⁴ 'The school,' says the old preacher, rousing himself with the recollection of those stirring days of his boyhood, 'made good its claim to that glorious motto of its royal foundress, *Semper*

Loyalty of
the School.

Uvedale at
Cromwell's
funeral.

South, on
January 30,
1648-49.

Hawarden. He is buried in St. Margaret's Church (*Alumni West.* p. 569), and his grandniece (1732-33) Ellen in Monk's vault in Henry VII.'s Chapel. (Register.)

¹ *Gent. Mag.* lxii. pt. 1, p. 114.

² See Chapter IV. p. 142.

³ South's Sermon on Virtuous Education, 1685. The version usually given (*Alumni West.* p. 136) is that South himself read the prayers. But this contradicts his own testimony, and, moreover, he was not 'senior' till 1650-51.

⁴ On that same day Phineas Payne, of the Mermaid, near the Mews, one of the doorkeepers of Westminster Hall, dined 'at Westminster College' (probably in the Hall). Colonel Humphreys 'came in and said the work was done.' According to others, Payne boasted that 'his hands had done the work.' (State Papers, 1660.)

Eadem ; the temper and genius of it being neither to be tempted with promises nor controlled with threats. . . . And, as Alexander the Great admonished one of his soldiers of the same name with himself still to remember that his name was Alexander, and to behave himself accordingly, so, I hope, our School has all along behaved itself suitably to the royal name and title it bears. . . . We really were King's scholars, as well as called so. It is called "the King's School," and therefore let nothing arbitrary or tyrannical be practised in it, whatever has been practised against it. . . . It is the King's¹ School, and therefore let nothing but what is loyal come out of it or be found in it.'

This fervour of loyalty was the more remarkable when we remember that not only were the Governors Parliamentarians, but that the ministrations of the Abbey itself, which the boys frequented, were Presbyterian or Independent. 'I myself' — it is South again who speaks in his old age — 'while a scholar here, have heard a prime preacher' (William Strong) 'thus addressing himself from this very pulpit, to the leading grandees of the faction in the pew under it' (doubtless sitting in the Chancellor's pew, so long contested between Williams and the Chapter): "You stood up," says he, "for your liberties, and you did well." The two are brought face to face in the touching relation between the Royalist Pedagogue and his Nonconformist pupil, Philip Henry, as they sit together in the well-known picture in the Hall of Christ Church — the one boy whom he never chastised, but

Philip
Henry.

¹ The use of this word seems to imply that, as at Canterbury, the collegiate school was here known popularly as 'the King's School.' It is employed in the dedication of an edition of the Septuagint in 1653 to the *Indycta Schola Regia*, which also bears the Royal Arms.

once with the words, 'And thou, my child;' whose absence from school he allowed, in order that the young Puritan might attend the daily lecture in the Abbey, between 6 and 8 A.M.,¹ and whom he prepared for the Presbyterian celebration of the Sacrament with a care that the boy never forgot. 'The Lord recompense it a thousand-fold into his bosom!' 'What a mercy,' was Henry's reflection many years after, 'that at a time when the noise of wars and of trumpets and clattering of arms was heard there . . . that then my lot should be where there was peace and quietness, where the voice of the truth was heard, and where was plenty of Gospel opportunities!' 'Prithee, child,' said Dr. Busby to him, after the Restoration, 'who made thee a Non-conformist?' — 'Truly, sir, you made me one, for you taught me those things that hindered me from conforming.'²

With the Restoration the Abbey naturally returned to its former state.³ Dr. Busby was still there,⁴ to carry the ampulla of the new Regalia at Charles II.'s coronation, and to escort the King THE RESTORATION. round Dean's Yard, hat on head, lest the boys should else think there was any greater man in the world than himself. Heylin too came back, Heylin. now that 'his two good friends, the House of Commons

¹ This was the hour fixed by Parliament for the lectures (Commons' Journals, Feb. 20, 1648). During those hours all walking in the Abbey, Cloisters, or Churchyard was forbidden. (Ibid. May 28, 1648.)

² Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* vi. 127, 128, 134.

³ The distinction of stalls was now abolished (*Le Neve*, iii. 359). An order remains for £2000 to be paid to His Majesty, in the name of the Dean and Chapter, as a humble testimony of their gratitude for restoring of the Church. (Chapter Book, Aug. 8, 1661.)

⁴ It seems to have been thought necessary to procure a certificate to his loyalty from Cosin, Sanderson, and Earles. (State Papers, 1660.)

and the Lord of Lincoln, were out of Westminster.' He began again his buildings and his studies; 'erected a new dining-room, and beautified the other rooms of his house'; rejoiced that 'his old bad eyes had seen the King's return'; was visited by the Bishops of the new generation as an oracle of ancient times; and turned to a good omen the thunderstorm which broke over the Abbey as he and his friends were at supper after the Coronation, — 'The ordnance of Heaven is answering the ordnance of the Tower.'¹ On the night before his last sickness he dreamed that he saw 'his late Majesty' Charles I., who said to him, 'Peter, I will have you buried under your seat in church, for you are rarely seen but there or at your study.' This, with the shock of the accidental burning of his surplice, prepared him for his end; and he died on Ascension Day, 1662, and was buried under his Subdean's seat, according to his dream and his desire.² His monument is not far off, in the North Aisle, with an epitaph by Dean Earles.

In the North Transept, where now stands the monument of the Three Captains, a Font was then 'newly set up'; and two young men³ were baptized publicly by the Dean. One of them, Paul Thorndyke, was the son of the emigrant to New England, and had been probably baptized at Boston. The repetition of the ceremony was no doubt caused by his uncle, Herbert Thorndyke the Prebendary. The other, Duell Pead, was perhaps an instance of those whose baptism had been

¹ Evelyn heard him preach at the Abbey on Feb. 29, 1661, on friendship and charity. 'He was quite dark.' (*Memoirs*, Feb. 29, 1661.)

² Bernard's *Heylin*, pp. 200, 248, 249, 280, 292.

³ Paul Thorndyke, aged about 20; Duell Pead, aged 16, April 18, 1663. (Register.)

delayed in the troubled time of the Commonwealth — one of many instances which are said to have caused the addition to the Prayer Book, in 1662, of a form for the 'Baptism of Persons of Riper Years.'

Through the eyes of Pepys we see the gradual transition : —

July 1, 1660. — In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a good sermon by a stranger — but no Common Prayer yet. Pepys's
remarks.

July 15. — In the afternoon to Henry VII.'s Chapel, where I heard a service and a sermon.

Sept. 23. — To the Abbey, where I expected to hear Mr. Baxter or Mr. Rowe preach their farewell sermon, and in Mr. Symons's pew. I heard Mr. Rowe.¹ Before sermon I laughed at the reader, who in his prayer desires of God that he would imprint His word on the thumbs of our right hands, and on the right great toes of our right feet. In the midst of the sermon some plaster fell from the top of the Abbey, that made me and all the rest in our pew afraid, and I wished myself out.

Oct. 2. — To the Abbey, to see them at Vespers. There I found but a thin congregation.

Oct. 4. — To Westminster Abbey, where we saw Dr. Frewen translated to the Archbishopric of York. There I saw the Bishops of Winchester [Duppa], Bangor [Roberts], Rochester [Warner], Bath and Wells [Pierce], and Salisbury

¹ John Rowe, the successor of William Strong (see p. 146), as the pastor of the Independent congregation in the Abbey. He had preached on the Thanksgiving for the victory over the Spanish fleet, October 8, 1656, on Job xxxvi. 24, 25, and on Bradshaw's funeral, November 2, 1659 (see vol. ii. p. 50). He was of a tall dignified deportment, and a good Greek scholar. When young he kept a diary in that language, and was much devoted to Plato. He had for his assistant in the Abbey Seth Ward. A saying of his on the Schoolmen is worth preserving, 'They had great heads, but little hearts.' (*Christian Witness*, 1868, p. 316.)

[Henchman], all in their habits, in Henry VII.'s Chapel. But, Lord! at their going out, how people did look again at them, as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love and respect!

Oct. 7. — After dinner to the Abbey, where I heard them read the Church Service, but very ridiculously. A poor cold sermon of Dr. Lamb, one of the Prebendaries, came afterwards, and so all ended.

Oct. 28. — To Westminster Abbey, where with much difficulty going round by the Cloisters, I got in; this day being a great day, for the consecrating of five bishops, which was done after sermon; but I could not get into Henry VII.'s Chapel.

Nov. 4. — In the morning to our own church, where Dr. Mills did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer. . . . After dinner . . . to the Abbey, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a cathedral. My wife seemed very pretty to-day, it being the first time I had given her leave to wear a black patch.¹

By the autumn of the next year the restored Church in the Abbey was established on a surer basis, and is described by a graver witness. 'On October 10, 1661,' says Evelyn —

In the afternoone preach'd at the Abbey Dr. Basire, that greate travailler, or rather French Apostle who had been planting the Church of England in divers parts of the Levant and Asia. He shew'd that the Church of England was for purity of doctrine, substance, decency, and beauty, the most perfect under Heaven; that England was the very land of Goshen.

The Episcopal ceremonies, to which Pepys referred, showed how closely the ecclesiastical feeling of the Restoration attached itself to the Abbey. The 'confirma-

¹ Pepys's *Diary*, i. 110-150.

tion' of the elections was probably transferred hither from its usual place in Bow Church for the sake of more solemnity. The consecration which he describes was the first of a long series, in order to fill up the havoc of the Civil Wars. First came the five Bishops, whom Pepys vainly tried to see;¹ Sheldon, the Latitudinarian of Falkland's days, the High Churchman of the Restoration; Sanderson, the learned casuist; Morley, Henchman, and Griffith, — for the Sees of London, Lincoln, Worcester, Salisbury, and St. Asaph's. Then a month later came seven more: Lucy, Lloyd, Gauden, author of the 'Icon Basilike'; Sterne; Cosin, the chief Ritualist of his day; Walton, of the Polyglott; and Lacey; for the Sees of St. David's, Llandaff, Exeter, Carlisle, Durham, Chester, and Peterborough. Then again, in the next month, Ironside, Nicolson, the moderate Reynolds, and Monk, the brother of the General, were consecrated to the Sees of Bristol, Norwich, Gloucester, and Hereford.² The year closed with the ill-omened consecration of the four new Scottish Bishops: Fairfoul of Glasgow, Hamilton of Galloway, the apostolical Leighton of Dunblane, the worldly and unfortunate Sharpe of St. Andrews. 'Once a day,' he had said in describing his preliminary stay in London, 'I go to the Abbey.'³

¹ Two consecrations had occurred in Henry VII.'s Chapel in the stormy years of Williams's period — of Prideaux to Worcester, Dec. 19, 1641; of Browning to Exeter, May 15, 1642. Beveridge, in the *Debates of the Commission of 1689* (p. 102), said that, 'in the case of the Scotch Bishops, King James I. . . was present at the consecration in Westminster Abbey.' This is a mistake. They were consecrated in London House. But it shows the sentiment of Beveridge's own time with regard to the Abbey.

² Dr. Allestree preached. (Evelyn, ii. 160.)

³ Burton's *Hist. of Scotland*, vii. 409.

These crowded consecrations were afterwards succeeded by isolated instances down to the beginning of the next century. Earles, on November 30, 1662, to the See of Worcester; Barrow,¹ July 5, 1663, to Sodor and Man; Rainbow, July 10, 1664, to Carlisle; Carleton, February 11, 1672, to Bristol. The first of these names leads us back to the Deanery. John Earles, author of the 'Microcosm,' had attended the Royal Family in their exile, and returned with them.² 'He was the man of all the clergy for whom the King had the greatest esteem, and in whom he could never hear or see any one thing amiss.'³ He held the Deanery only two years, before his promotion to the Sees of Worcester and Salisbury.⁴ His dear friend Evelyn was present at his consecration:—

John Earles,
1660-63;
died at
Oxford, 1666;
buried in
Merton
College
Chapel.

Invited by the Deane of Westminster to his consecration dinner and ceremony, on his being made Bishop of Worcester. Dr. Bolton preach'd in the Abbey Church; then follow'd the consecration by the Bishops of London, Chichester, Winchester, Salisbury, &c. After this was one of the most plentiful and magnificent dinners that in my life I ever saw; it cost near £600 as I was inform'd. Here were the Judges, Nobility, clergy, and gentlemen innumerable, this Bishop being universally beloved for his sweete and gentle disposition. He was author of those Characters which go under the name of Blount. He translated his late Ma^{ty}'s Icon into Latine, was Clerk of his Closet, Chaplaine, Deane of Westm^r, and yet a most humble, meeke, but cheerful man, an excellent scholar,

¹ His more famous nephew and namesake preached the sermon.

² Clarendon's *Life*, i. 57, 58; Pepys, i. 96.

³ Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 225; Walton's *Lives*, i. 415.

⁴ He died, to the 'no great sorrow of those who reckoned his death was just for labouring against the Five Mile Act.' (Calamy's *Barter*, i. 174.)

and rare preacher. I had the honour to be loved by him. He married me at Paris, during his Majesties and the Churches exile. When I tooke leave of him he brought me to the Cloisters in his episcopal habit.

Dolben followed; himself a Westminster student of Christ Church, and famous in the Civil Wars for his valour at Marston Moor and at York, and for his keeping up the service of the Church of England, with Fell and Allestree at Oxford. He was the first Dean who, by a combination which continued through nine successive incumbencies, united the See of Rochester with the Deanery, and gave to that poor and neighbouring bishopric at once an income and a town residence. He held it till his translation to York, where he died and was buried. His daughter Catherine lies in St. Benedict's Chapel. 'He was an extraordinary lovely person, though grown too fat; of an open countenance, a lively piercing eye, and a majestic presence. Not any of the Bishops' Bench, I may say not all of them, had that interest and authority in the House of Lords which he had.' During the twenty years of his office, 'he was held in great esteem by the old inhabitants of Westminster,' and spoken of as 'a very good Dean.'¹

John Dolben,
1668-88.
Bishop of
Rochester,
1690.
Archbishop
of York,
1688.
Buried at
York, 1690.

Both in his time, and in his predecessor's, much was spent by the Chapter on repairs of the church. Dolben persuaded them, on the day of his installation, to assign an equal portion of their dividends to this purpose.²

¹ Widmore, pp. 162, 164.

² 'Went to see an organ with Dr. Gibbons, at the Dean of Westminster's lodgings at the Abbey, the Bishop of Rochester (Dolben), where he lives like a great prelate, his lodgings being very good. I saw his lady, of whom the *Terra Filius* at Oxford was once so merry, and two children, whereof one a very pretty little boy, like him, so fat

'That Christ Church, Oxford, stands so high above ground, and that *the Church of Westminster lies not flat upon it*,' says South, in dedicating his Sermon to him, 'is your lordship's commendation.'¹

The Plague of 1665 drove the School to Chiswick,² where it long left its memorials in the names of the boys written on the walls of the old College House, including Dryden and Montague, whose monuments in the Abbey derive additional interest from their connection with the School.

'Not to pass over that memorable event, the Fire of London, September 2 (says a Westminster scholar of that time), it happened between my election and admission. On Sunday, between one and eleven forenoon, as I was standing upon the steps which lead up to the pulpit in Westminster Abbey, I perceived some people below me running to and fro in a seeming disquietude and consternation.' 'Without any ceremony, I took my leave of the preacher, and ascended Parliament Steps near the Thames. The wind blowing strong eastward, the flakes at last reached Westminster.'³ The next day, 'the Dean, who in the Civil Wars had frequently stood sentinel, collected his scholars together, marching with them on foot to put a stop, if possible, to the conflagration. I was a kind of page to him, not being of the number of the King's scholars. We were employed many hours fetching water from the back-

and black.' (Pepys, iv. 51. — February 24, 1667.) 'A corpulent man — my special loving friend and excellent neighbour' [at Bromley]. (Evelyn, *Memoirs*, iii. 206.) 'Dined at the Bishop of Rochester's at the Abbey, it being his marriage day, after twenty-four years.' (iii. 58, January 14, 1681-82.)

¹ South's Sermon on Dolben's consecration to Rochester.

² Taswell, 9. See Life of Miss Berry, i. 6.

³ Taswell, 10, 12. See Chapter IV.

side of St. Dunstan's in the East. The next day, just after sunset at night, I went to the King's Bridge.¹ As I stood with many others, I watched the gradual approaches of the fire towards St. Paul's. About eight o'clock the fire broke out on the top of the church . . . and before nine blazed so conspicuous as to enable me to read very clearly a 16mo edition of Terrence which I carried in my pocket.'²

Sprat was the most literary Dean since the time of Andrewes. His eagerness against the memory of Milton in the Abbey, and his liberality towards Dryden, have been already mentioned.³ The shifty character which he bore in politics is illustrated by his conduct in the Precincts on the accession of James II. The Prebendaries were summoned by him to the Deanery in the middle of the night to be reassured by his account of the new King's speech at the first Council. They were alarmed, however, at his coronation to observe that whilst the Queen expressed much devotion, the King showed little or none, and that at the responses he never moved his lips.⁴ The Abbey was almost the only⁵ Church in London where James II.'s Declaration of Indulgence was read. 'I was at Westminster School' (says Lord Dartmouth) 'at the time, and heard it read in the Abbey. As soon as Bishop Sprat (who was Dean) gave orders for reading it, there was so great a murmur and noise in the Church, that nobody could hear him; but before he had finished, there was

Thomas
Sprat,
Bishop of
Rochester,
1684-1713.

Reading the
Declaration
of Indul-
gence, May
30, 1688.

¹ The pier by New Palace Yard.

² Charles II. feared for the Abbey even more than for his own Palace of Whitehall. (Clarendon's *Life*, iii. 91.)

³ See Chapter IV.

⁴ Patrick's Works, ix. 488, 490.

⁵ Evelyn, iii. 243.

none left but a few Prebends in their stalls, the choristers, and the Westminster scholars. The Bishop could hardly hold the proclamation in his hands for trembling, and everybody looked under a strange consternation.¹ 'He was surprised on the day when the seven Bishops were dismissed from the King's Bench to hear the bells of his own Abbey joining in the many peals of the other London Churches, and promptly silenced them, not without angry murmurs.'² He died in his palace at Bromley — where was laid the Flowerpot Buried May 25, 1718, aged 77. Conspiracy against him — but was buried in the Abbey in the Chapel of St. Nicholas.³ 'The monument was afterwards moved, for the sake of greater publicity, to its present position in the Nave.'⁴ In his time began the expensive repairs⁵ which were carried on for many years under Sir Christopher Wren, with the help of a Parliamentary grant from the duty on coal, on the motion of Montague, Earl of Halifax, once a scholar at Westminster — 'a kind and generous thing in that noble person thus to remember the place of his education.'⁶

It was through Sprat that Barrow preached⁷ twice in the Abbey. The Dean 'desired him not to be long, for that auditory loved short sermons, and were used to

¹ Note in Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 218. According to Patrick (ix. 412) he sent it 'to one of the Petty Canons to read.'

² Macaulay, ii. 368.

³ His son Thomas, Archdeacon of Rochester (1720), and his infant son George, were buried (1683) in the same vault. The latter has a monument in the Chapel of St. Benedict.

⁴ Widmore, p. 160.

⁵ Neale, i. 179. In 1694 a fire in the Cloisters burnt the MSS. in Williams's Library. (Widmore, p. 164.)

⁶ Widmore, p. 165.

⁷ He also preached, at the consecration of his uncle to the See of Man in 1663 (see p. 158), a fine sermon on the advantages of an established religion.

them. He replied, "My lord, I will show you the sermon," and pulling it out of his pocket, put it into the Bishop's hands. The text was, Proverbs x. 18, *Barrow's Sermons in the Abbey.* *He that uttereth slander is a liar.* The sermon was accordingly divided into two parts: one treated of slander, the other of lies. The Dean desired him to content himself with preaching only the first part; to which he consented not without some reluctancy; and in speaking that only it took an hour and a half. Another time, upon the same person's invitation, he preached at the Abbey on a holiday. It was a custom for the servants of the Church on all holidays, Sundays excepted, betwixt the sermon and evening prayers, to show the tombs and effigies of the Kings and Queens in wax to the meaner sort of people who then flock from all the corners of the town to pay the twopence to see *the play of the dead folks*,¹ as, I have heard, a Devonshire clown not improperly called it. These persons seeing Dr. Barrow in the pulpit after the hour was past, and fearing to lose that time in *hearing* which they thought they could more profitably employ in *viewing*, these, I say, became impatient, and caused the organ to be struck up against him, and would not give over playing till they had blowed him down.'² The example of Barrow shows that the preaching in the Abbey was not then confined to the Chapter. Another instance is recorded by Evelyn:—

In the afternoone that famous proselyte, Mons^r Brevall preach'd at the Abbey, in English, extremely well and with much eloquence. He had ben a Capuchine, but much better learned than most of that order.³

¹ See the note at the end of Chapter IV.

² Pope's *Life of Seth Ward*, pp. 147, 148.

³ *Memoirs*, February 11, 1671-72. To these may be added the

But the Precincts themselves were well occupied. We catch a glimpse of them through John North, John North, afterwards Master of Trinity, who, as Clerk 1673-83, Prebendary. of the Closet, had a stall at Westminster,

which also suited him well because there was a house, and accommodations for living in town, and the content and joy he conceived in being a member of so considerable a body of learned men, and dignified in the Church, as the body of Prebends were — absolutely unlike an inferior college in the university. Here was no faction, division, or uneasiness, but, as becoming persons learned and wise, they lived truly as brethren, quarrelling being never found but among fools or knaves. He used to deplore the bad condition of that collegiate church, which to support was as much as they were able to do. It was an extensive and industrious managery to carry on the repairs. And of later time so much hath been laid out that way as would have rebuilt some part of it. This residence was one of his retreats, where he found some ease and comfort in his deplorable weakness.¹

Another Prebendary of this time, for sixteen years (1672-1689), was Symon Patrick, at that time Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, afterwards Dean of Peter-

Symon
Patrick,
Prebendary,
1672-89.

borough, and Bishop of Chichester and of Ely. A touching interest is added to the Precincts by the record of his joys and sorrows. He first resided there shortly after his singular marriage in 1676, 'in a house new built in the Little Cloisters, that he might attend to the office of Treasurer.' 'Here,' he says, 'we enjoyed many happy days, and my wife

famous sermons of Fuller, on March 27, 1643; Nathaniel Hardy, on Feb. 24, 1646; Bishop Lloyd, Nov. 5, 1680; Bishop Hough, Nov. 5, 1701; Bishop Beveridge, Nov. 5, 1704. These three last, no doubt, were appointed by the House of Lords.

¹ *Lives of the Norths*, iii. 325.

thought it the sweetest part of our lives which we spent here.' Here he finished his commentary on the Psalms, 'concluding with the last words "Allelujah! Allelujah!"' 'He had the greater reason to be thankful, because God had lately taken away an excellent neighbour, Dr. Outram,¹ a far stronger man he thought than himself.' 'From not preaching in the afternoon he had the more leisure for his composures.' In these cloisters he lost one son, and had another born. 'On that day the hymn at evening prayer in the quire of Westminster was the thirty-third Psalm, "Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous; for it becometh well the just to be thankful." On November 10, 1680, he preached 'a sermon to Convocation in Henry VII's Chapel, of which the Archbishop (Sancroft) desired to have a copy, he being so deafish that he could not hear it. On March 24th he had the most pleasant day that he had of a long time enjoyed.' He had fasted that day (it was the vigil of the Annunciation), and found his 'spirit so free, so clear, so pleased, that to be always in that blessed temper he thought he could be content to be poor, ready to lie under any misery . . . and could have been contented to eat and drink no more, if he could have continued in that sweet disposition, which he wished his little one might inherit more than all the riches in this world.' The anthem at the evening prayer was the third Psalm, which he heard with great joy, as applicable to the Popish Plot. He concluded his meditations with these words, 'O Lord, if it please Thee, give me many more such happy days, and make me very thankful, if I have them but seldom.' These 'gracious tempers' returned to him on the 31st at evening prayer, particularly he felt 'what it is to have a soul lifted up to God

¹ See Chapter IV.

(as the words of the anthem were, Psalm lxxvi.) above the body, above all things seen in this world.'¹

Amidst the troubles of 1687 he lost a little girl, Penelope, 'of very great beauty — very lovely,' he adds, 'in our eyes, and grew every day more delightful.' On the 20th of September at 3 A.M. she died, and was buried the same day by the monument of Dean Goodman. 'It was no small difficulty to keep my wife from being overcome with grief. But I upheld and comforted her, as she did me, as well as we were able. And the Psalms for the day suited us admirably, the first being very mournful, and the next exceeding joyful, teaching us to say, "Bless the Lord, O my soul," and "Forget not all his benefits."'

In the troubled days of 1688 the Little Cloisters witnessed more than one interesting interview. On the 7th of August, Dr. Tenison (writes Patrick) 'came to my house at Westminster, where he communicated an important secret to me, that the Prince of Orange intended to come over with an army, and therefore desired me to carry all my money and what I had valuable out of London.'² On the close of the day (December 17) on which the Prince of Orange arrived at St. James's, 'it was a very rainy night, when, Dr. Tenison and I being together, and discoursing in my parlour in the Little Cloisters, one knocked hard at the door. It being opened, in came the Bishop of St. Asaph, to whom I said, "What makes your lordship come abroad

¹ In this time, when, at the instance of Archbishop Sancroft, the Communion was celebrated in the Abbey every Sunday, Patrick preached, persuading to frequent Communion. (Patrick's Works, ix. 508.) The quiremen and servants of the Church were required to attend at the three festivals. (Chapter Book, 1686.)

² Patrick's Works, ix. 513.

in such weather, when the rain¹ pours down as if heaven and earth would come together?" To which he answered, "He had been at Lambeth, and was sent by the Bishops to wait upon the Prince and know when they might all come and pay their duty to him." Well may that stormy night have dwelt in Patrick's memory. Immediately afterwards followed his preparation of the Comprehension Bill, his introduction to the Prince, and his elevation to the see of Chichester.²

Amongst the Prebendaries of this period we have already noticed Horneck, Thorndyke, Triplett, and Outram. Another is Richard Lucas, who felt in his blindness that he was not truly released from his duty to that body of which he was still a member, but, as 'it were "fighting on his stumps," continued to study and to write.' But the most conspicuous is Robert South. We last saw him as a sturdy Royalist boy in the School. In 1663, by the influence of Lord Clarendon, he received a stall at Westminster, and in 1670 another at Christ Church. He was presented in 1677 with the living of Islip, the Confessor's birthplace, one of the choicest pieces of Westminster preferment, where, in honour of the Founder, he rebuilt both chancel and rectory. But we here are concerned with him only in connection with Westminster. Of his famous sermons, some of the most remarkable were heard in the Abbey, and of these two or three have a special local interest.³ One was that discourse, marvel-

Thorndyke,
1601-72
Horneck,
1693-96.
Triplett,
1601-70.
Outram,
1670-79.
Lucas, 1715.

Robert
South,
1663-1716.

South's
sermons in
the Abbey.

¹ The Archbishop, who had consented to go, put his refusal on the weather. 'Would have me kill myself—Do you not see what a cold I have? (and indeed he had a sore one).' Patrick, ix. 515.

² Patrick, ix. 514-518.

³ *All Contingencies under Divine Providence*, Feb. 22, 1684-85; *Wisdom of this World*, April 30, 1676; *Sacramental Preparation*, April
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lous for its pugnacious personalities, on 'All Contingencies under Divine Providence,' which contained the allusions to the sudden rise of Agathocles 'handling the clay and making pots under his father;' 'Masaniello, a poor fisherman, with his red cap and angle;' and 'such a bankrupt, beggarly fellow as Cromwell, entering the Parliament House with a threadbare torn cloak and a greasy hat, and perhaps neither of them paid for.'¹ At hearing which the King fell into a violent fit of laughter, and turning to the Lord Rochester, said, 'Ods fish, Lory, your chaplain must be a bishop, therefore put me in mind of him at the next death.' But the King himself died first, and his death prevented the delivery of the only one of South's sermons which had express reference to the institution with which he was so closely connected. 'It was planned and proposed to have been preached at Westminster Abbey at a solemn meeting of such as had been bred at Westminster School. But the death of King Charles II. happening in the meantime, the design of this solemnity fell to the ground with him.'² It was, however, published at the command of 'a very great person (Lord Jeffries) whose word then was law as well as his profession,' in the hope that hereafter 'possibly some other may conde-

18, 1688; *Doctrine of Merit*, Dec. 5, 1697; *The Restoration*, May 29, 1670; *Christian Mysteries*, April 29, 1674; *Christian Pentecost*, 1692; *Gunpowder Plot*, Nov. 5, 1663 (at this Evelyn was present — *Memoirs*, ii. 213), 1675, 1688; *Virtuous Education of Youth*, 1685, all preached 'at Westminster Abbey.'

¹ This sermon is in its title denoted as preached at 'Westminster Abbey, on Feb. 22, 1684-85.' This date is three weeks after Charles's death, and the story, as above given, is told by Curll (*Life of South*, p. lxxiii.) as having taken place apparently in the Chapel Royal in 1681. Either this is a mistake, or the sermon was preached twice.

² With the usual deference to royal etiquette which has always marked the solemnities of the Royal School.

scend to preach it.' It is this discourse which abounds in those striking reminiscences of his early school days already quoted. Had he preached it, he would have had ample revenge on his severe old preceptor Busby, who would doubtless have been sitting under him, when he launched out against 'those pedagogical Jehus, those furious school-drivers, those *plagosi Orbilii*, those executioners rather than instructors or masters, persons fitter to lay about them in a coach or cart, or to discipline boys before a Spartan altar, or rather upon it, than to have anything to do in a school.' The sermon would have impressed his hearers with the seeming unconsciousness of coming events with which, on the very eve of James II.'s accession, he ridiculed the 'old stale movements of Popery's being any day ready, to return and break in upon us.' And, in fact, on the very next occasion on which he is recorded to have preached in the Abbey, on November 5, 1688, Nov. 5, 1688. we are startled as we look at the date, and think of the feelings which must have been agitating the whole congregation, to find not the faintest allusion to the Revolution which that very day was accomplishing itself in William's landing at Torbay. He had not, however, been insensible to the changes meditated by James; and one story connected with his stall at Westminster exhibits his impatience of the King's favour to Dissenters. 'Mr. Lob, a Dissenting preacher, being much at favour at Court, and being to preach one day, while the Doctor was obliged to be resident at Westminster, . . . he disguised himself and took a seat in Mr. Lob's conventicle, when the preacher being mounted up in the pulpit, and naming his text, made nothing of splitting it up into twenty-six divisions, upon which, separately, he very gravely undertook to expatiate in

their order; thereupon the Doctor rose up, and jogging a friend who bore him company, said, "Let us go home and fetch our gowns and slippers, for I find this man will make nightwork of it."

He was offered the Deanery of Westminster on the death of Sprat, but replied, 'that such a chair would be too uneasy for an old infirm man to sit in, and he ^{Refusal of the Deanery, 1713.} held himself much better satisfied with living upon the eavesdropping of the Church than to fare sumptuously by being placed at the pinnacle of it' (alluding to the situation of his house under the Abbey). He was now, as he expressed it, 'within an inch of the grave, since he had lived to see a gentleman who was born in the very year in which he was made one of the Prebendaries of this Church appointed to be the Dean of it' This feeling was increased on the death of Queen Anne, 'since all that was good and gracious, and the very breath of his nostrils, had made its departure to the regions of bliss and immortality.' ^{1715.} In 1715 he dedicated his sixth volume

of Sermons to Bromley, Secretary of State, as 'the last and best testimony he can render . . . to that excellent person.' One of his last public appearances was at the election in the Chapter to the office of High Steward, the candidates being the Duke of Newcastle ^{Feb. 22, 1715-16.} and the Earl of Arran, the Duke of Ormond's brother, 'who had lost his election had not Dr. South, who was in a manner bedridden, made the voices of the Prebendaries equal, when he was asked who he would vote for, Heart and soul for my Lord of Arran.'¹

¹ Chapter Book, Feb. 22, 1715. 'Ordered that a Patent of the High Stewardship of Westminster and St. Martin le Grand be now handed to the Earl of Arran.' Amongst the other names, in a very decrepit hand, is *Robert South, Senr. Præb. and Archdeacon*. He was present at one more Chapter, but this is his last signature.

He still, as 'for fifty years,' was 'marked for his attention to the service in the Abbey;' but was at last 'by old age reduced to the infirmity of sleeping at it.' It was in this state that he roused himself to fire off a piece of his ancient wit against a stentorian preacher at St. Paul's: 'the innocence of his life giving him a cheerfulness of spirit to rally his own weakness. Brother Stentor, said he, for the repose of the Church hearken to Bickerstaff' [the Tatler], 'and consider that while you are so devout at St. Paul's, we cannot sleep for you at St. Peter's.'¹

He died on July 8, 1716. Four days after his decease the corpse was laid in the Jerusalem Chamber, and thence brought into the College Hall, ^{Died July 8, buried July 16, 1716.} where a Latin oration was made over it by John Barber, Captain of the School. Thence it was conveyed into the Abbey, attended by the whole Collegiate body, with many of his friends from Oxford; and the first part of the service immediately preceded, the second succeeded, the evening prayers, with the same anthem of Croft that had been sung at the funeral of Queen Anne.² He was then laid at the side of Busby, by the Dean, at his special request, 'reading the burial office with such affection and devotion as showed his concern' for the departed.³

The Dean who thus committed South to his grave was Atterbury, the name which in that office, ^{Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, 1713-23.} next after Williams, occupies the largest space in connection with the Abbey. We have

¹ *Tatler*, No. 61.

² A ludicrous incident connects this grave ceremony with the lighter traditions of the School. Barber's oration was pirated and published by Curll, who in revenge was entrapped by the boys into Dean's Yard, whipped, tossed in a blanket, and forced on his knees to apologise. (*Alumni West*. 268.)

³ *Life*, p. 6.

already, in the account of the Monuments of this period, observed the constant intervention of Atterbury's influence.¹ We must here touch on his closer associations with the Abbey through the Deanery. He was a Westminster scholar, and Westminster student at Christ Church, so that he was no stranger to the place to which, in later life, he was so deeply attached.

There was something august and awful in the Westminster elections, to see three such great men presiding — Bishop Atterbury as Dean of Westminster, Bishop Smalridge as Dean of Christ Church, and Dr. Bentley as Master of Trinity; and 'as iron sharpeneth iron,' so these three, by their wit, learning, and liberal conversation, whetted and sharpened one another.²

He plunged, with all his ardour, into the antiquarian questions which his office required. 'Notwithstanding that when he first was obliged to search into the Westminster Archives, such employment was very dry and irksome to him, he at last took an inordinate pleasure in it, and preferred it even to Virgil and Cicero.'³

He superintended with eagerness the improvements of the Abbey, as they were then thought, which were in progress. The great North Porch received His repairs of the Abbey. his peculiar care. The great rose window in it, curiously combining faint imitations of mediæval figures with the Protestant Bible in the centre, was his latest interest. There is a charming tradition that he stood by, complacently watching the workmen as they hewed smooth the fine old sculptures over Solomon's

¹ Chapter IV. pp. 73, 80, 121, 122, 123.

² *Life of Bishop Newton*.

³ *Spectator*, No. 447; *Letters*, ii. 157.

Porch, which the nineteenth century vainly seeks to recall to their vacant places.

His sermons in Westminster were long remembered : —

*His preach-
ing*

The Dean we heard the other day together is an orator. He has so much regard to his congregation, that he commits to his memory what he is to say to them ; and has so soft and graceful a behaviour, that it must attract your attention. His person, it is to be confessed, is no small recommendation ; but he is to be highly commended for not losing that advantage, and adding to the propriety of speech (which might pass the criticism of Longinus) an action which would have been approved by Demosthenes. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has many of his audience who could not be intelligent hearers of his discourse, were there not explanation as well as grace in his action. This art of his is used with the most exact and honest skill ; he never attempts your passions, until he has convinced your reason. All the objections which he can form are laid open and dispersed, before he uses the least vehemence in his sermon ; but when he thinks he has your head, he very soon wins your heart ; and never pretends to show the beauty of holiness, until he hath convinced you of the truth of it.¹

In the School he at once became interested through his connection with the Headmaster. 'I envy Dr. Freind,' writes Dean Swift to his brother Dean, 'that he has you for his inspector, and I envy you for having such a person in your district and whom you love so well. Shall not I have the liberty to be sometimes a third among you, though I am but an Irish Dean?'²

¹ *Tatler*, vol. ii. (No. 66), p. 116. The sermons on Matt. vi. 34, Acts xxvi. 26, 1 Pet. ii. 21, Acts i. 3, Mark xvi. 20, were preached 'at Westminster Abbey.' (*Sermons*, ii. 265 ; iii. 3-221.)

² *Swift's Works*, xvi. 55.

This concern in the School has been commemorated in a memorial familiar to every Westminster scholar.

His interest in the School. Down to his time the Dormitory of the School had been, as we have seen, in the old Granary of the Convent, on the west side of Dean's Yard. The

The New Dormitory. wear-and-tear of four centuries, which included the rough usage of many generations of school-boys, had rendered this venerable building quite unfit for its purposes. The gaping roof and broken windows, which freely admitted rain and snow, wind and sun; the beams, cracked and hung with cobwebs; the cavernous walls, with many a gash inflicted by youthful Dukes and Earls in their boyish days; the chairs, scorched by many a fire, and engraven deep with many a famous name¹—provoked alternately the affection and the

1713. derision of Westminster students. At last
1718. the day of its doom arrived. Again and again the vigorous Dean raised the question of its rebuilding in the College Garden. He and his friends in the Chapter urged its 'ruinous condition,' its 'liability to mob;' the temptations to which, from its situation, the scholars were every day exposed; the 'great noise and hurry,' and the 'access of disorderly and tumultuous persons.'² The plan was constantly frustrated by the natural reluctance of those Prebendaries whose houses abutted on the garden, and who feared that their privacy would be invaded. The question was tried in Chancery, and carried on appeal to the House of Lords. There, partly no doubt by Atterbury's influence, an order was procured that 'every member of the Chapter, absent or present, should give their opinion, either *vivâ voce* or in

¹ *Lusus Alteri West.* i. pp. 45, 280, 281, 282.

² Chapter Book, Jan. 3, 1713; Dec. 18 and Dec. 29, 1718; April 4, 1721; and March 2, 1718 (19).

writing, which place they think the most proper to build a new Dormitory in, either the common garden, or where the old Dormitory stands.'¹ 1721.

After a debate, which has left the traces of its fierceness in the strongly-expressed opinions of both parties, each doubtless coloured by the local feelings of the combatants, it was carried, by the vote of the Dean, in favour of rebuilding it in the garden. The original plan had been to erect it on the eastern side;² but it was ultimately placed where it now stands, on the west. Wren designed a plan for it,³ which was in 1722.

great part borrowed by Lord Burlington, who, 1730.

as architect, laid the first stone in the very next year; and it proceeded slowly, till in 1730 it was for the first time occupied. The generation of boys to which Welbore Ellis, Lord Mendip, belonged, slept in both Dormitories.⁴ The old building remained till 1758.⁵ The new one became the scene of all the curious customs and legends of the College from that day to this, and, in each successive winter, of the 'Westminster Play' of Terence or Plautus.⁶

But, long before the completion of the work Atterbury had been separated from his beloved haunts. His fall.
In that separation Westminster bore a large part. A remarkable prelude to it has been well de-

¹ Chapter Book, April 4, 1721.

² Ibid. March 3, 1718 (19). The undermaster's house was to have been at the south end. When this plan was changed, the space was left waste till occupied by the present sanatorium.

³ This remains in All Souls' Library.

⁴ *Alumni West.* pp. 277, 300; *Lusus West.* i. p. 57.

⁵ See a picture of it of that date, prefixed to *Alumni Westmonasterienses*; also in *Gent. Mag.* [Sept. 1815], p. 201.

⁶ See the description of the Theatre of earlier days in *Lusus West.* ii. 29.

scribed by an eyewitness,¹ a printer concerned in the issue of a book by a clergyman reflecting on the character of some nobleman: —

The same night, my master hiring a coach, we were driven to Westminster, where we entered into a large sort of monastic building. Soon were we ushered into a spacious hall, where we sate near a large table, covered with an ancient carpet of curious work, and whereon was soon laid a bottle of wine for our entertainment. In a little time we were visited by a grave gentleman in a black lay habit, who entertained us with one pleasant discourse or other. He bid us be secret; 'for,' said he, 'the imprisoned divine does not know who is his defender; if he did, I know his temper; in a sort of transport he would reveal it, and so I should be blamed for my good office; and, whether his intention was designed to show his gratitude, yet, if a man is hurt by a friend, the damage is the same as if done by an enemy; to prevent which is the reason I desire this concealment.' 'You need not fear me, sir,' said my master; 'and I, good sir, added I, 'you may be less afraid of; for I protest I do not know where I am, much less your person; nor heard where I should be driven, or if I shall not be drove to Jerusalem before I get home again; nay, I shall forget I ever did the job by to-morrow, and, consequently, shall never answer any questions about it, if demanded. Yet, sir, I shall secretly remember your generosity, and drink to your health with this brimful glass.' Thereupon, this set them both a-laughing; and truly I was got merrily tipsy, so merry that I hardly knew how I was driven homewards. For my part, I was ever inclined to secresy and fidelity; and, therefore, I was nowise inquisitive concerning our hospitable entertainer; yet I thought the imprisoned clergyman was happy, though he knew it not, in having so illustrious a friend, who privately

¹ *Life of Mr. Thomas Gent*, p. 88. A slightly different version is given in *Davies's Memoir of the York Press*, 149.

strove for his releasement. But, happening afterwards to behold a state-prisoner in a coach, guarded from Westminster to the Tower, God bless me, thought I, it was no less than the Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Atterbury, by whom my master and I had been treated ! Then came to my mind his every feature, but then altered through indisposition, and grief for being under royal displeasure. Though I never approved the least thing whereby a man might be attainted, yet I generally had compassion for the unfortunate. I was more confirmed it was he, because I heard some people say at that visit that we were got into Dean's Yard ; and, consequently, it was his house, though I then did not know it ; but afterwards learned that the Bishop of Rochester was always Dean of Westminster. I thanked God from my heart that we had done nothing of offence, at that time, on any political account—a thing that produces such direful consequences.

It was from the Deanery that Atterbury prepared to go in lawn-sleeves, on Queen Anne's death, and proclaim James III. at Charing Cross.¹ 'Never,' he exclaimed, 'was a better cause lost for want of spirit.' On the staircase of the Deanery his son-in-law Morrice met Walpole leaving the house.² Atterbury received him with the tidings that the Minister had just made, and that he had just refused, the tempting offer of the particular object of his ambition,³ the See of Winchester (with £5,000 a year till it became vacant), and the lucrative office of a Tellership in the Exchequer for his son-in-law. Another visitor came with more success. The Westminster scholars, as they

Jacobite
plots in the
Deanery,
May 1722.

¹ Coxe's *Walpole*, I. 167.

² *Atterbury Papers; His Memoir*, by the Rev. E. Morrice, pp. 11, 12.

³ It was suspected that he looked higher still. 'He had a view of Lambeth from Westminster.' That was a great temptation (*Calamy's Life*, ii. 270).

played and walked in Dean's Yard, had watched the long and frequent calls of the Earl of Sunderland.¹ In the Deanery, in spite of his protestations, we must believe his conspiracy to have been carried on. 'Is it possible,' he asked, in his defence before the House of Lords, 'that when I was carrying on public buildings of various kinds at Westminster and Bromley, when I was consulting all the books of the church of Westminster from the foundation . . . that I should at the very time be directing and carrying on a conspiracy? Is it possible that I should hold meetings and consultations to form and foment this conspiracy, and yet nobody living knows *when, where, and with whom* they were held?—that I, who always lived at home, and never (when in the Deanery) stirred out of one room, where I received all comers promiscuously, and denied not myself to any, should have opportunities of enacting such matters?'² In answer to these questions, a vague tradition murmured that behind the wall of that 'one room,' doubtless the Library, there was a secret chamber, in which these consultations might have been held. In 1864, on the removal of a slight partition, there was found a long empty closet, behind the fireplace, Atterbury's hiding-place. reached by a rude ladder, perfectly dark, and capable of holding eight or ten persons, but which, as far back as the memory of the inmates of the Deanery extended, had never been explored.³ It had probably been built for this purpose in earlier times, against the outer wall (which still remains intact) of the antechamber to the old Refectory. In this chamber, which may

¹ Bishop Newton's *Life*, ii. 20.

² *Letters*, ii. 158.

³ The venerable Bishop Short (of St. Asaph), who knew the house well in the time of his uncle, Dean Ireland, assured me that there was at that time no suspicion of its existence.

have harboured the conspiracy of Abbot Colchester against Henry IV., it is probable that Atterbury was concealed in plotting against George I.¹ It was in one of the long days of August, when he had somewhat reluctantly come to London for the funeral of the Duke of Marlborough, that he was sitting in the Deanery in his nightgown, at the hour of 'two in the afternoon' — a very unusual hour, one must suppose, for such a dress — when the Government officers came to arrest him; 'and though they behaved with some respect to him, they suffered the messengers to treat him in a very rough manner — threatening him, if he did not make haste to dress himself, that they would carry him away undrest as he was.'²

Arrest of
Atterbury,
August 22,
1722.

Atterbury's defence and trial belong to the history of England. We here follow his fall only by its traces in Westminster. The Chapter, deprived of their head, had to arrange their affairs without him. The Subdean and Chapter Clerk were, by an order from the Secretary of State, admitted at the close of the year to an interview with him in the Tower, in the presence of the Lieutenant of the Tower.³ Early in the following year he, by a special act, 'divers good causes and considerations him thereto moving,' appointed the Subdean to transact business in Chapter, 'in as full and ample a manner as he himself could do or perform if

Dec. 22

¹ Here also Dr. Fiddes may have been 'entertained' with materials, matter, and method for his 'Life of Wolsey,' as their enemies suggested, thus 'laying a whole plan for forming such a life as might blacken the Reformation, cast lighter colours upon Popery, and even make way for a Popish pretender.' (Dr. Knight's *Life of Erasmus*: Fiddes's *Answer to Britannicus*, 1728.)

² *Biog. Brit.* i. 272. See Chapter IV.

³ Warrant from the Records of the Tower, Dec. 22, 1722. Communicated by the kindness of Lord De Ros.

present in Chapter.'¹ During the time of his imprisonment, he was still remembered in his old haunts (whether in the Abbey or not, is doubtful), being prayed for under pretence of being afflicted with the gout, in most churches in London and Westminster.² After his trial, his last wish, which was denied to him, was to walk from the House of Lords through the Abbey and see the great rose-window which Dickinson the surveyor had put up, in the beginning of the previous year, under his direction, in the North Transept.³ The Westminster election was going on at the time, and the Westminster scholars came afterwards, as usual, to see 'the Dean'—in the Tower. It was then that he quoted to them the last two lines of his favourite 'Paradise Lost'—

The world is all before me, where to choose
My place of rest — and Providence my guide.⁴

He embarked immediately after from the Tower in a 'navy barge.' Two footmen in purple liveries walked behind. He himself was in a lay habit of gray cloth. The river was crowded with boats and barges. The Duke of Grafton presented him with a rich sword, with the inscription, 'Draw me not without reason. Put me not up without honour.'⁵ The Chapter meantime were sitting in the Jerusalem Chamber, still fighting for the payments of moneys, disputed by their late imperious master, even at these last moments of departure.⁶ They afterwards gained a poor revenge by reclaiming all the perquisites of George I.'s coronation and of Marlborough's funeral, which he, tenacious of power to the

¹ Chapter Book, April 17, 1723.

² Coxe's *Walpole*, i. 170.

⁴ See Chapter IV.

⁶ Chapter Book, June 18, 1723.

³ Akerman, ii. 3.

⁵ Hearne's *Reliquiæ*, 498.

end, had carried off.¹ 'The Aldborough man of war, which lay in Long Reach, took the Bishop. Another vessel carried his books and baggage.'² His 'goods' were sold at the Deanery, and 'came to an extraordinary good market, some things selling for three or four times the value — a great many of his Lordship's friends being desirous to have something in remembrance of him.'

His interest, however, in the Abbey and School never flagged. He still retained in exile a lively recollection of his enemies in the Chapter. He was much concerned at the death of his old but ungrateful friend, the Chapter Clerk.³ The controversy as to the jurisdiction of the Westminster Burgesses pursued him to Montpellier.⁴ The plans of the Dormitory 'haunted his mind still, and made an impression upon him.'⁵ The verses of the Westminster scholars on the accession of George II. were sent out to him.⁶ His son-in-law, Dr. Morrice, long kept the office of High Bailiff.⁷ He busied himself, as of old, in the Westminster epitaphs.⁸ When at last he died at Paris,⁹ his body was brought, 'on board the ship Moore,' from Dieppe, to be interred in the Abbey. The coffin was searched at the custom-house, nominally for lace, really for treasonable papers. The funeral took place at night, in the most private manner. He had long before caused a vault to be made, as he expressed it, 'for me

His exile,
June 18,
1723.

Death of his
daughter,
Nov. 8, 1729;
buried Feb.
21, 1730.

His death,
Feb. 15,
1732; and
funeral,
May 12,
1732.

¹ Chapter Book, Jan. 28. 1723-24.

² *Weekly Journal*, March 15, 1723.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 202, 211.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv. 219.

⁸ See Chapter IV.

⁹ In the Mural Book, copied from the plate, it is Feb. 22.

³ *Letters*, iv. 135, 136.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 214, 221.

⁷ *Ibid.* iv. 270, 296.

and mine,' 'not in the Abbey, because of my dislike to the place; but at the west door of it, as far from Kings and Cæsars' (at the eastern extremity) 'as the space will admit of.'¹ In this vault had already been interred his youngest daughter Elizabeth, and his wife, before his exile, and his best beloved daughter Mary, who died in his arms at Toulouse, and whose remains, in spite of the long and difficult journey, were conveyed hither. By her side his own coffin was laid, with the simple inscription of his name and title, and the dates of his birth and death, and on the urn containing his heart: — 'In hac urna depositi sunt cineres Francisci Atterbury, Episcopi Roffensis.' A monument was talked of, but never erected.² He had himself added a political invective, which was not permitted to be inscribed.³

¹ Atterbury Papers, April 6, 1772. (Williams's *Atterbury*, i. 373.)

² *Letters*, i. 485. The vault was seen in 1877. The coffins of the Bishop and Mrs. Morrice rested on the two earlier ones. They were evidently of foreign make, the interval between the lead and the wood was in that of his daughter stuffed with straw, evidently for the long journey; in his own, the straw was gone, probably thrown away when the coffin was searched at the Custom House.

³ *Letters* i. 362: —

NATUS MARTII VI. MDCLXII.
IN CARCEREM CONJECTUS AUG. XXIV. MDCCXXII.
NUNC POST HENSE IN JUDICIUM ADDUCTUS
NOVOQUE CRIMINUM ET TESTIUM GENERE
IMPETITUS
AGITA DENI PER SEPTIDUUM CAUSA
ET REVERSA
TUM VIVENTIUM TUM MORTUORUM TESTIMONIIS,
NE DRESSET LEX, QUÆ PLEORI POSSET,
LATA EST TANDÈM MARI XXVII. MDCCXXIII.
CAVEAT POSTERI!
HOC FACINORIS
CONSOIVIT, AGGRESSUS EST, PERPESTRATE,
EPISCOPORUM PRÆCIPUE SUFFRAGIS ADJUTUS,
ROBERTUS ISTIS WALPOLE
QUEM NULLA NESCIAT POSTERITAS.

Epitaphs on Atterbury were composed by Samuel Wesley and Crull. (See Williams's *Atterbury*, ii. 468, 469.)

The influences which Atterbury had fostered long lingered in the Precincts. The house of the Undermaster is inscribed with the name of Walter Titley, who was preceptor to Atterbury's son in the Deanery at the time of the Bishop's arrest, and who, after many years spent in the diplomatic service in Copenhagen, left £1,000 to the School, with which the Chapter restored this house. Samuel Wesley, elder ^{The Wesleys.} brother of John and Charles, who inherited his mother's strong Jacobite tendencies, was attracted to a mastership at Westminster by his friendship for Atterbury; and in his house was nurtured his brother Charles, 'the sweet Psalmist' of the Church of those days — who went from thence as a Westminster student to Christ Church.¹

The name of Atterbury makes it necessary to pause at this point, to sum up the local reminiscences of the ecclesiastical assemblies of the English Church, of which Westminster has been the scene. We have already traced the connection of St. Catherine's Chapel with 'The Councils of Westminster' — of the Abbey itself with the great Elizabethan Conference, and of the Jerusalem Chamber with the meeting of the Presbyterian divines under the Commonwealth. It remains for us to point out the growth of the local association which has been gradually formed with the more regular body, known as the 'Convocation of the Province of Canterbury.'

The convenience, no doubt, of proximity to the Palace of Westminster, the seat of Parliament, of which the Convocations of Canterbury and York were the sup-

¹ Southey's *Life of Wesley*, i. 19. — A special boarding-house for the reception of the sons of Nonjuring parents was kept at that time by a clergyman of the name of Russell.

plement, would naturally have pointed to the Abbey.

But the Primate doubtless preferred to avoid the question of the exempt jurisdiction of Westminster, and the clergy did not care to be drawn thither either by the Archbishop or the King.¹

Accordingly, whilst the Convocation of York has always been assembled in the Chapter House of York Minster, the proper seat of the Convocation of Canterbury is the Chapter House of the Cathedral of St. Paul's. There the Bishops assembled in the raised chamber, and the inferior clergy in the crypt beneath. From this local arrangement have been derived the present names of 'the Upper' and 'Lower House.' There they met throughout the Middle Ages. There the Prolocutor is still elected, and thence the apparitor comes who waits upon them elsewhere.

The change at last arose out of the great feud between the southern and northern Primacies, which had cost Becket his life, and which had caused so many heartburnings at the Coronations, and such violent contentions in St. Catherine's Chapel.² The transfer of the Convocation from St. Paul's to Westminster is the memorial of the one moment of English History when, in the pre-eminent grandeur of of Wolsey, the See of York triumphed over the See of Canterbury. Wolsey, as Legate, convened his own Convocation of York to London;³ and in order to vindicate their rights from any jurisdiction of the Southern Primate, and also that he might have them nearer to

Original seat
of the Con-
vocation at
St. Paul's.

Transference
to West-
minster.

Under
Wolsey 1523.

¹ Wake's *State of the Church*, p. 42.

² See Chapters II. and V. The rivalry between the Sees of St. Andrews and Glasgow, in like manner, prevented for many years the convocation of any Scottish Councils.

³ Wake, p. 392, App. p. 317; Joyce's *English Synods*, p. 297.

him at his palace of Whitehall,¹ they met, with the Canterbury Convocation, under his Legatine authority, in the neutral and independent ground of the Abbey of Westminster. It was in allusion to this transference, by the intervention of the great Cardinal, that Skelton sang :

Gentle Paul, lay down thy sword,
For Peter of Westminster hath shaved thy beard.²

A strong protest was made against the irregularity of the removal : but the convenience being once felt, and the charm once broken, the practice was continued after Wolsey's fall. Convocation, till the dissolution of the monastery, met at Westminster, usually in the ancient Chapter House, where the Abbot, on bended knees, protested (as the Deans in a less reverent posture since) against the intrusion. It was that very submission to Wolsey's alleged illegal authority as Legate which laid the clergy open to the penalties of Præmunire ; and thus, by a singular chance, in the same Chapter House where they had placed themselves within this danger, they escaped from it by acknowledging the Royal Supremacy.³ On the occasion of the appointment of the thirty-two⁴ Commissioners to revise the Canon Law, it assembled first in St. Catherine's and then St. Dunstan's Chapel.⁵ When both Convocations⁶ were called to sanction the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves, they met in the Chapter House. Both Primates were present. Gardiner expounded the case, and the next day they 'publicly and unanimously,

Act of Submission,
March 31,
1531, in the
Chapter House.

July 7-10,
1540.

¹ Strype's *E. M.* i. 74-76.

² Skelton's *Poems*. See Chapter V.

³ Wilkins, iii. 724, 746, 762. On that occasion Latimer 'kneeled down' in the Chapter House and recanted. (*Ibid.* 247.)

⁴ *Ibid.* 749.

⁵ See Chapter V.

⁶ Wilkins, 749.

not one disagreeing,' declared it null. From that time onwards, the adjournment from St. Paul's to the Precincts of Westminster has gradually become fixed, but always on the understanding that 'the Convocation is obliged to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and not to the Archbishop, for their convenient accommodation in that church.'¹ The history of the Convocations under the reigns of Edward and Mary is too slight to give us any certain clue to the place of their assembling.

But after the accession of Elizabeth, we find that (in 1563) the Bishops met,² in the Chapel of Henry VII., sometimes 'secretly,' Dean Goodman making the usual protest.³ The Lower House were placed either in a chapel on the south side of the Abbey, apparently the 'Consistory Court,'⁴ or in the Chapel of St. John and St. Andrew on the north,⁵ which came to be called 'the Convocation House;'⁶ 'sitting amongst the tombs,' as on one occasion Fuller describes them, 'as once one of their Prolocutors said of them, *viva cadavera inter mortuos*, as having no motion or activity allowed them.'⁷ Of these meetings little beyond mere formal records are preserved. In them, however, were signed the Thirty-nine Articles.⁸

Under Elizabeth, Jan. 9-April 17, 1563. In Henry VII.'s Chapel. In the Chapels of St. John and St. Andrew, and the Consistory Court. The Thirty-nine Articles, Jan. 22-29, 1563. Under James I., 1603.

¹ *Narrative of Proceedings* [1700, 1701], p. 41.

² Gibson, pp. 150-167.

³ *Ibid.* p. 150. — He had already made a protest at St. Paul's (*Ibid.* p. 147.)

⁴ 'A vestry.' (*Expedient*, p. 11.)

⁵ Gibson, pp. 264, 265. 'A little chapel below stairs.' (*Expedient*, p. 11.)

⁶ *Burial Register*, Nov. 24, 1671.

⁷ Fuller's *Church History*, A. D. 1621. The erection of the scaffolding on these occasions is described in Keepe, p. 180.

⁸ Strype's *Parker*, i. 242, 243.

The Convocation under James I. met partly at St. Paul's, and partly at Westminster. It would seem that its most important act—the assent to the Canons of 1603—was at St. Paul's.¹ The first Convocation of whose proceedings we have any detailed account is the unhappy assembly under Charles I., which, by its hasty and extravagant career, precipitated the fall both of King and Clergy, and provoked the fury of the populace against the Abbey itself. Both Houses met in Henry VII.'s Chapel on the first day of their assembling, and there heard a Latin speech from Laud of three quarters of an hour, gravely uttered, 'his eyes oftentimes being but one remove from weeping.'² Then followed the questionable continuance of the Convocation after the close of the Parliament; the short-lived Canons of 1640; the oath, 'which had its bowels puffed up with a windy *et cetera*;' the vain attempt, in these 'troublesome times,' on the part of a worthy Welshman to effect a new edition of the Welsh Bible; and finally the conflict between Laud and Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester. Alone of all the dissentients he had the courage openly to refuse to sign the Canons. 'Whereupon the Archbishop being present with us in Henry VII.'s Chapel, was highly offended at him. "My Lord of Gloucester," said he, "I admonish you to subscribe;" and presently after, "My Lord of Gloucester, I admonish you the second time to subscribe;" and immediately after, "I admonish you the third time to subscribe." To all which the Bishop pleaded conscience, and returned a denial' In spite of the remonstrance of Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, he

¹ Wilkins, iv. 552-554.

² Fuller's *Church History*, iii. 409.

was committed to the Gatehouse, and for the first time became popular.¹

In the Abbey, after the Restoration, the Convocation met again, with the usual protest from Dean Earles.²

Under Charles II., 1661, May 16. Their first occupation was the preparation of the Office for the Baptism of Adults, and the Form of Thanksgiving for the 29th of May. On November

Revision of the Prayer Book Nov. 21, 1661. 21 they reassembled, and entered on the grave task assigned to them by the King of revising the Prayer Book. In fact, it had already

been accomplished by a committee of Bishops and others in the Great Hall of the Savoy Hospital, and therefore within a week the revision was in

their hands, and within a month the whole was finished. A few days after the completion of the larger part, the Lower House was joined by the unusual accession of

Nov. 22-27. five deputies from the Northern Province, by whose vote, under the stringent obligation of forfeiting all their goods and chattels, the Lower House of the Convocation of York bound itself to abide.³ The

Dec. 5-15. Calendar, the Prayers to be used at Sea, the Burial Service, and the Communion rapidly followed. No record remains of their deliberations.

Dec. 20. On December 20 were affixed the signatures of the four Houses, as they now appear in the Manuscript Prayer

In the Jerusalem Chamber. Feb. 22, 1661-2. Book. This no doubt was in Henry VII.'s Chapel. But as the Bishops, by meeting there, had led the way thither for the Assembly of

Divines, so the Assembly of Divines, by meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber, led the way thither for the Bishops.

¹ Fuller's *Church History*. On Nov. 4 of the same year there was 'an endeavour, according to the Levitical laws, to cover the pit which they had opened.' But it was too late. (Heylin's *Laud*, p. 460.)

² Wilkins, iv. 564, 565.

³ Ibid. 568, 569.

In that old monastic parlour the Upper House met, for the first time, on February 22, 1662, and there received the final alterations made by Parliament in the Prayer Book. The attraction to the Chamber was still, as in the time of Henry IV., the greater comfort ¹ (*pro meliori usu*) and the blazing fire. From 1665 to 1689 formal prorogations were made in Henry VII.'s Chapel, and Convocation did not again assemble till 1689. ^{Under William and Mary. Nov. 30-Dec. 14, 1689.} Even if the precedent of the important Convocation of 1661 had not sufficed for the transfer from St. Paul's to Westminster, the great calamity which had in the interval befallen the ancient place of meeting would have prevented their recurrence to it.² St. Paul's Cathedral was but slowly rising from the ruins of the Fire, and accordingly, after the appointment of Compton by the Chapter of Canterbury to fill the place of President, vacant by Sancroft's³ suspension, the opening of Convocation took place at Westminster. A table was placed in the Chapel of Henry VII. Compton was in the Chair. On his right and left sate, in their scarlet robes, those Bishops who had taken the oaths to William and Mary. Below the table were assembled the Clergy of the Lower House. Beveridge preached a Latin sermon, in which he warmly eulogised the existing system, and yet declared himself in favour of a moderate reform. The Lower House then proceeded to elect a Prolocutor, and, in the place of the temperate and consistent Tillotson, chose the fanatical and vacillating Jane. On his presentation to the President, he made his famous speech against all change, concluding with the well-known words — taken from the colours of Compton's regiment of horse — *Nolumus*

¹ Gibson, p. 225.² Macaulay, iii. 488.³ Wilkins, *Conc.* iv. 618.

leges Angliæ mutari. It was on this occasion that the change of place for the Upper House, which had been only temporary in 1662, became permanent. 'It being in the midst of winter, and the Bishops being very few,'¹ they accepted of the kindness of the Bishop of Rochester (Dean Sprat) in accommodating them with a good 'room in his house, called the Jerusalem Chamber; and left the lower clergy to sit in Henry VII's Chapel, and saved the trouble and charge of erecting seats where they used to meet.'²

This change was probably further induced by the experience that some of the Bishops had already had of the Jerusalem Chamber, where they had sat in the Commission for revising the Liturgy for eighteen sessions and six weeks, beginning on October 3, and ending on November 18. The Commission consisted of ten prelates, six deans, and six professors. Amongst them were the distinguished names of Tillotson, Tenison, Burnet, Beveridge, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Fowler, Scott, and Aldrich. Lamplugh, Archbishop of York, presided, in the absence of Sancroft. Sprat, as host, received them; but after the first meeting withdrew, from scruples as to its legality. Their discussions are recorded by Dr. Williams, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, who took notes 'every night after he went home.' The imperfect acoustics of the Chamber were felt even in that small assembly; 'being at some distance at first, he heard not the Bishops so well.' Their work, after lying in the Lambeth Library for two centuries, was printed in 1854 by order of the House of Commons. It was the last attempt to improve the

Commission
for Revision
of the
Liturgy.
Oct. 3-Nov.
18, 1669,
in the
Jerusalem
Chamber.

¹ Gibson, p. 225.

² *Expedient proposed by a Country Divine* (1702), p. 11. Wilkins, iv. 620.

Liturgy and reconcile Nonconformists to the National Church. But from it directly sprang the revised Prayer Book of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, and the remembrance of it will doubtless influence any changes that may be in store for the English Liturgy itself.

'In this Jerusalem Chamber,' writes one whose spirit was always fired by the thought of this lost opportunity, 'any new Commissioners might sit and acknowledge the genius of the place' — 'kindly spirits whose endeavours to amend our Liturgy might also bring back to the fold such wanderers as may yet have the inclination to join our Establishment.'¹ That wish has not yet been fulfilled.² The Convocation, which in the winter of that year succeeded to the place of the Commissioners,³ was far otherwise employed in the grave disputes between the Upper and Lower House. The few Bishops who met in the Jerusalem Chamber were unable to cope with the determined resistance of the Jacobite majority of the Lower House. 'The change of place, though merely accidental, made very great alterations in the mode of proceeding in Convocation,' chiefly turning on the complications which ensued on adjournments being read, as

Disputes
between the
two Houses
as to the
place of
meeting.

¹ Hull's *Church Inquiry*, p. 241 (1827).

² Thus far I had written before July 17, 1867, when another Royal Commission, the first that has been appointed for the Revision of the Prayer Book since the days of Tillotson, assembled in the Jerusalem Chamber to examine the Ritual and Rubric of the Church of England. May the pious aspiration breathed forty years ago by that venerable friend of Arnold for the happy result of their labours be fulfilled. (1867.) It has been frustrated by obstacles similar to those raised in 1689.

³ See *Narrative of Proceedings of Lower House of Convocation*, by Hooper (1701, 1702); *An Expedient*, by Binckes (1701); *The Pretended Expedient*, by Sherlock (1702).

from the Upper House, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, which had now by use become the place of the Lower House. There they refused even to consider the proposals of the Bishops, and were accordingly prorogued till 1700. By that time they were able again to open their meeting in the restored St. Paul's. But their discussions took place, as before, in the Chamber and the Chapel at Westminster. There the Lower House, by continuing their assemblies in the Chapel of Henry VII., as independent of the prorogation of the Bishops, 'inflicted'—say the injured prelates—'the greatest blow to this Church that hath been given to it since the Presbyterian Assembly that sate in Westminster in the late times of confusion.'

A paper, containing a passage defamatory of the Bishops, was by their orders fixed, with a kind of challenge, 'over several doors in Westminster Abbey.'¹

Dispute in the Organ Room. The anteroom² to the Jerusalem Chamber became the scene of angry chafings on the part of the Lower House, which had been made to wait there—according to one version a few minutes, according to another two hours³—whilst the Upper House was discussing their petition; by the insolence of the Upper House according to one version, by the mistake of the door-keeper according to another. In this small

June 6, 1702. antechamber it was that the Prolocutor met

the Bishop of Bangor (Evans), 'putting on his habit,' and said to him, 'My Lord of Bangor, did you say in the Upper House that I lied?'⁴ To which the

¹ *History of Convocation in 1700*, p. 75.

² It was then as now called 'the Organ Chamber.' (*Ibid.* p. 169.) On one occasion, March 7, 1702, the Lower House met there (Cardwell, p. xxxiii.), after first assembling in the Consistory Court. (*Atterbury*, iv. 342, 381.)

³ *History of Convocation in 1700*, p. 110.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 166.

Bishop replied in some disorder — 'I did not say you lied; but I said, or might have said, that you told me a very great untruth.'¹ In the Chamber itself, the Prolocutor encountered a still more formidable antagonist in Bishop Burnet, fresh from reading the condemnation of his work by the Lower House. 'This is fine indeed; this is according to your usual insolence.' 'Insolence, my Lord!' said the Prolocutor; 'do you give me that word?' 'Yes, insolence!' replied the Bishop; 'you deserve that word, and worse. Think what you will of yourself; I know what you are.'² Feb. 12, 1702-3.
Here 'My Lord's grace of Canterbury' interfered. On another occasion, after the prorogation had been read and signed in the Upper House, as the clergy were departing out of the Jerusalem Chamber, Dr. Atterbury, towards the door, was pushing on some members, and saying, 'Away to the Lower House! — away to the Lower House!' The Chancellor of London, turning back to him, asked 'if he was not ashamed to be always promoting contention and division;' and they continued their altercation in still stronger language.³

It is not necessary here to follow up those altercations which turned the Chapel of Henry VII. and the Jerusalem Chamber into two hostile camps, with the Organ-room for an intermediate arena — the discussion of Dodwell's work on Baptism, and of Brett's work on Sacrifice; the condemnation of Bishop Burnet's 'Exposition of the Articles,' and of Bishop Hoadley's 'Sermon on the Kingdom of Christ;' of Whiston's work on the 'Apostolical Constitutions;' of Clarke's work on the 'Scriptural Doctrine of the Trinity.' We can imagine the fierce eloquence of Atterbury as Prolocutor of the

¹ *History of Convocation in 1700*, p. 204; *Narrative*, pp. 67-69.

² *History of Convocation in 1700*, p. 208.

³ *Biog. Brit.* i. 269.

Lower House in Henry VII.'s Chapel; and in the Jerusalem Chamber the impetuous vehemence of Burnet; the stubborn silence of the 'old rock,' Tenison; the conciliatory mildness of Wake. We can see how, when Archbishop Tenison suddenly produced in the Chamber the letter from Queen Anne, reprimanding the Lower House, and enjoining the Archbishop to prorogue them, 'they ran away indecently towards the door, and were with some difficulty kept in the room till the prorogation was intimated to them.'¹ But hardly any permanent fruits remain;² and, except in the allusions of innumerable pamphlets, hardly any record of the disputes, which were for the most part bitter personal recriminations. They were Prorogued in 1717. finally prorogued in 1717, and did not meet again for business till our own time.³ Formal citations, however, seem to have brought them together from time to time in the Abbey; and on one occasion, in 1742, an attempt was made, by Archdeacon Reynolds, to read a paper on Ecclesiastical Courts. But, being of a latitudinarian tendency, it was not acceptable to the House, and it was stopped by the Prolocutor, who 'spoke much of Præmunire, and that word was echoed and reverberated from one side of good King Henry's Chapel to the other.'⁴

The time has not yet come when we can safely enter even on the local associations of the proceedings of the

¹ Burnet's *Own Time*, ii. 413.

² The only permanent result was 'the Office for Consecrating Churches and Churchyards,' sanctioned by the Convocation of 1711, in consequence of the building of fifty new churches in London and Westminster. (Burnet's *Own Time*, ii. 603.)

³ Wilkins, iv. 670-676.

⁴ *Letter to Dr. Lisle*, p. 11; Reynolds's *Historical Essays*, p. 207; communicated by Dr. Fraser.

Convocation of Canterbury, when its discussions were renewed under the administration of Lord Derby. Its formal openings took place, as before and since, in the precincts of St. Paul's. Its first meeting for ^{Revived} business was on the 12th of November, 1852,¹ ^{Nov. 12, 1852.} accompanying the Parliament assembled for the Duke of Wellington's funeral. Sixteen Bishops were present. The proceedings began, as has been the case ever since, in the Jerusalem Chamber, which was given up to the Lower House, after their names had been called over in the Abbey; the Upper House retiring to the Library of the Deanery, the 'one room' inhabited by Atterbury, and at this time vacant by the illness of Dean Buckland. In this room the Prelates virtually determined the framework of the future proceedings of the body in an animated discussion which lasted three days. At the next meeting the Bishops occupied the Jerusalem Chamber, the Lower House assembling in such scanty numbers as to be accommodated in the Organ-room. Subsequently the Bishops, after a formal opening in the Jerusalem Chamber, adjourned to the office of Queen Anne's Bounty in Dean's Yard — leaving the Lower House in the Jerusalem Chamber, as on a former occasion they had left it in Henry VII.'s Chapel. In that historic Chamber it has sat without interruption, but without any permanent fruits. The only exception to its occupation of the Chamber has been when, to accommodate a larger attendance (with the sanction, in later days, of the Governors of Westminster School), the College Hall has been granted for that purpose by the Dean.

A work of more enduring interest than any decrees

¹ The scene of this opening, with all its details, is well described in the *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. xxv. 163-187.

of Convocation has been connected with the Precincts of Westminster. When the royal commission was issued by James I. for the revision of the previous translations of the Bible, which issued in the Authorised Version of 1611, the translators were divided into three companies. Of the Oxford and Cambridge companies we need not here speak. But we cannot doubt that the 'Westminster Company,' of which the chief was Dean Andrewes, met under his auspices, probably in the Jerusalem Chamber, and it is certain that the Welsh translation, which immediately preceded this,¹ was carried on in the Deanery. The Dean at that time (Andrewes' predecessor) was the Welshman Gabriel Goodman. For a whole year his countryman Bishop Morgan, the chief translator, was lodged at the Deanery (in preference to an invitation which he had received from the Primate), on the ground that at Lambeth the Thames would have inconveniently divided him from the printing-press.

This early connection of the translation of the Bible with Westminster was revived when in our own time, on the motion of Convocation, and ultimately under the control of the University Presses, a new revision was undertaken. The companies of translators, drawn from both Universities, and from all sections of ecclesiastical life in England, met for this work, always at Westminster, usually in the Jerusalem Chamber; sometimes in the Chapter Library, occasionally in the Deanery. Its first beginning was inaugurated by a scene which, though it afterwards gave rise to some acrimonious discussion, at the time impressed all those who witnessed it, and most of those who heard it,

¹ Preface to Morgan's Translation of the Bible.

with a sense of solemn and edifying pathos. 'Preparatory to their entrance on their important work, a notice had been issued to each of the revisers, to the effect that the Sacrament would be administered ^{The West-} in Henry VII.'s Chapel, on the day of their ^{minster} Communion. first meeting, to such of the body as should feel disposed to attend. The Dean read the service from the Communion Table at the head of Henry VII.'s tomb. It so happened that this Table thus received its first use. It had within a few days past, as the inscription round it records, been erected in the place of the ancient altar which once indicated the spot where Edward VI. was buried. On the marble slab which covers its top was placed the recovered fragment of the beautifully carved frieze of the lost altar, together with other fragments of ruined altars which happened to be at hand for a like purpose.¹ In front of this table, thus itself a monument of the extinct strifes of former days, and round the grave of the youthful Protestant King, in whose reign the English Bible first received its acknowledged place in the Coronation of the Sovereign, as well as its free and general circulation throughout the people, knelt together the band of scholars and divines, consisting of representatives of almost every form of Christian belief in England. There were Bishops of the Established Church, two of them by their venerable years connected with the past generation; there were delegates from our historic Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, our Universities, our parishes, and of our chief ecclesiastical assembly; and with these, intermingled without distinction, were ministers of the

¹ From the High Altar at Canterbury, burnt in 1174: from the altar of the Greek Church at Damascus, destroyed in 1860; and from an Abyssinian altar at Magdala, brought home in 1866.

Established and of the Free Church of Scotland, and of almost every Nonconformist Church in England — Independent, Baptist, Wesleyan, Unitarian. It is not to be supposed that each one of those present entered with equal agreement into every part of the service; but it is not without a hopeful significance that, at the time, such various representatives of British Christendom partook, without difficulty, on such an occasion in the sacred ordinance of the Christian religion.' It was called by a devout theologian, since departed, 'a true Elevation of the Host.'

We return to the general history of the Abbey.

The School during this period had reached its highest pitch of fame. Knipe, who had been second Master under Busby, and succeeded him as Headmaster, after fifty years' labour in the School, was buried in the North Cloister, and commemorated by a monument in the South Aisle of the Choir. Freind is especially connected with the Abbey by his numerous inscriptions,¹ by his steadfast friendship with Atterbury, and by his establishment of the Westminster dinners on the anniversary of the accession of the Foundress.

Knipe, Head-
master,
1695-1711.
Freind,
Headmaster,
1711-54;
buried at
Witney.

It was at this time that an alarming fire took place in the Precincts. On the site of the Old Rectory was a stately house built by Inigo Jones,² and illustrated by Sir J. Soane. A beautiful staircase of this period still remains. It has gone through various changes. In 1708, it was occupied by Lord Ashburnham, and from him took the name of Ashburnham House. In 1739, it reverted to the Chapter, and was divided into two prebendal houses, of which the larger

Fire in the
Cloisters,
1781.

¹ See Chapter IV.

² *Gleanings*, 228.

was in later years connected with the literature of England, when occupied first as a tenant by Fynes Clinton, the laborious author of the 'Fasti Hellenici,'¹ and then by Henry Milman, poet, historian, and divine, as Canon of Westminster. In the intervening period it had become the property of the Crown, and in 1712 received what was called the King's Library, and in 1730 the Library of Sir Robert Cotton. Dr. Bentley happened to be in town at the moment when the house took fire. Dr. Freind, the Headmaster, who came to the rescue, has recorded how he saw a figure issuing from the burning house, into Little Dean's Yard, in his dressing-gown, with a flowing wig on his head, and a huge volume under his arm. It was the great scholar carrying off the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament. The books were first placed in the Little Cloisters, in the Chamber of the Captain, and in the boarding-house in Little Dean's Yard, and then on the following Monday removed to the Old Dormitory, just vacated, till, in 1757, they reached their present abode in the British Museum.²

Bradford, who had already been prebendary of Westminster for nearly twenty years, took Atterbury's place in the Chapter, whilst Atterbury was still in the Tower. His conciliatory character recommended him as a fit person to end the feuds which, in Atterbury's time, had raged between the Dean and Canons, and did, in fact, tend to assuage the strife between Westminster and Bentley.³ He was the first

1827-1832.

1835-1849.

Oct. 3, 1731.

Samuel

Bradford,

1723-31.

Prebendary

of Westmin-

ster, 1708;

Bishop of

Carlisle,

1718; Dean

of Westmin-

ster and

Bishop of

Rochester,

July 19,

1723. Joseph

Wilcocks,

1731-56.

Dean of

Westmin-

ster and

Bishop of

Rochester.

¹ Clinton's *Literary Remains*, 262-295.

² Walcott's *Westminster*, p. 90; Monk's *Life of Bentley*, p. 577; Nichols's *Anecdotes*, ix. 592.

³ Monk's *Life of Bentley*, p. 535.

Dean of the Order of the Bath.¹ He lies near his monument in the North Transept.

Wilcocks, who had been elected Fellow of Magdalen College, in the 'golden election,' with Addison and Boulter, distinguished himself by his courageous devotion to the sick whilst chaplain at Lisbon, and afterwards as preceptor to the Princesses of the Royal Family. It was in this period that the neighbourhood of the Abbey, as the eighteenth century advanced, began to be gradually cleared of the incumbrances which closed it in. Then was commenced the most important change in the architectural and topographical history of Westminster since the building of the Abbey and Palace. Amidst much opposition the attempts which had been fruitlessly made in the several reigns of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., Charles II., and George I., to secure another bridge over the Thames besides that of London, at last succeeded. All the arts that old monopoly and prejudice could bring to bear were used, but in vain, and Westminster Bridge, after a brief but fierce Building of Westminster Bridge, 1738. discussion whether it should start from the Horseferry Pier or the ancient pier by New Palace Yard, was at last fixed where it now stands, and the first stone was laid in 1738 by the Earl of Pembroke. This great approach at once prepared the way for further changes. The ancient Woolstaple, or Pollen stock, of Edgar's charter was swept away to make room for the western abutment of the bridge in 1741. On the site of the small courts and alleys² which surrounded the Abbey, rose Bridge Street and Great George Street. By the side of the narrow avenue of King Street was opened, as if for the growth of the rising power whose

¹ See Chapter II. p. 119.

² *Westminster Improvements*, 20-22.

name it bore, the broad way of Parliament Street. St. Margaret's Lane, between the Church and Palace, was widened — having been before so constructed as to require high pales to protect the foot passengers from the mud splashed on all sides by the horses. With those changes the administration of the Abbey by Wilcocks, in great measure, coincided. During the twenty-five years in which he presided over it, the heavy repairs, which had been in progress almost since the Restoration, were completed.¹ He, 'being a gentleman of taste and judgment, swept away'² two prebendal houses in the Cloisters, and two others 'between³ the north door and west end' of the Nave, as well as two others on the side of Henry VII.'s Chapel.⁴ The present enclosure of Dean's Yard was now formed partly from the materials of the old Dormitory and Brewhouse.⁵ Six new elms were planted. For the first time there appears a scruple against putting up a monument in Henry VII.'s Chapel, 'as it will necessarily hide or deface some of the curious workmanship thereof.'⁶ Above all, whilst the projected

Oct. 31, 1729.

The Western
Towers,
1738-9.

¹ He restored, as is described in his epitaph, the monthly residence of the Prebendaries.

² Gwyn's *London and Westminster*, p. 90.

³ It appears from the Chapter Order, December 2, 1741, that there were two gates opening from one of these houses into the churchyard.

⁴ This was at the suggestion of Parliament. (Chapter Book, March 11, 1731; March 23, 1735; February 17, 1738.) Out of the money granted by Parliament for this purpose was bought Ashburnham House, which was divided into two prebendal houses, to compensate for the loss of the others. (Ibid. Oct. 29, 1739; June 14, 1740.) See p. 208.

⁵ Chapter Order, May 28, 1756. The materials were given to Dr. Markman (then Headmaster), and Mr. Salter — one of the Prebendaries alone protesting, Dr. Wilson, son of the good Bishop of Man. His solitary 'I dissent' appears in the Chapter Book, and he published a pamphlet against it, with the motto from Micah ii. 2 (1757).

⁶ Chapter Order, May 1, 1740. (Monk's monument.)

Spire was finally abandoned, the Western Towers of Sir Christopher Wren were finished.¹ It is interesting to mark the extreme pride which the aged Dean took in commemorating, as a glory of his office, that which the fastidious taste of our time so largely condemns. On his monument in the Abbey, in his portrait in the Deanery, in the picture of the Abbey² by Canaletti — which he caused to be painted evidently for their sake — the Towers of Wren constantly appear. He was buried under the southern of the two, in a vault made for himself and his family, as recorded in an inscription still remaining; and his tablet was erected near his grave, by his son Joseph, called by Pope Clement XIII, who knew him well during his residence at Rome, 'the blessed heretic.'³ Both father and son were admirable men. Over the Dean's bier, in the College Hall, was pronounced the eulogium, '*Longum esset persequi sanctissimi senis jucunditatem.*' Each took for his motto, in a slightly different form, the expression, 'Let me do all the good I can.' The son, whenever he came to London, 'always went to the Abbey for his first and last visit;⁴ in particular that part of it where his father's monument stands, and near which the Bishop, with his mother and sister and himself, rests in peace.'

Zachary Pearce was one of the numerous fruits of Queen Caroline's anxiety to promote learning. From

¹ Chapter Book, Feb. 17, 1738-39. Wren restored the lower part of the towers and made a design for the whole. But after his death in 1723, the upper part was completed by Hawksmore, and after his death in 1736 probably by James. (See Longman's *St. Paul's*, p. 86.)

² It was his son who left to the Deanery the bust and the picture of the Abbey. (Chapter Book, June 27, 1793, March 3, 1795.)

³ Preface to Wilcocks's *Roman Conversations*, p. xli.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. xxxiv.

the Deanery of Winchester and the See of Bangor, he was advanced, by his friend Lord Bath, to the Deanery of Westminster and the See of Rochester, ^{Zachary Pearce, 1756-66.} although with great reluctance on his part,

which ultimately issued, after vain attempts to resign the Bishopric, in his retirement from the Deanery, in his seventy-fourth year. This is the sole instance of such an abdication. 'His exultation at the accomplishment of his long disappointed wish, the Bishop expressed' in a soliloquy entitled 'The Wish, 1768, when I resigned the Deanery of Westminster,' which begins, 'From all Decanal cares at last set free.'¹ In 1774, in his eighty-fourth year, he died at Bromley, where he is buried with an inscription dictated by himself, which, after recording his various preferments, concludes by saying, 'He resigned the Deanery of Westminster, and died in the comfortable hope of (what had been his chief object in life) being promoted to a happier sphere hereafter.' It agrees with the gentle self-complacency of a remark, in answer to an inquiry how he could live on so scanty a diet — 'I live upon the recollection of an innocent and well-spent life, which is my only sustenance.' His disastrous proposals for the Monuments in the Abbey have been already noticed.² He is commemorated there by a cenotaph in the Nave, of which the inscription was composed by his successor, and ascribes³ 'the uncommon resolution' of his resignation, to his desire to finish his commentary on the Gospels and Acts. In his time was celebrated the Bicentenary of the Foundation, by a sermon from the Dean in the Choir on Prov. xxxi. 31, and by

June 2, 1760.

¹ *Life of Dean Thomas*, p. lxxxiii.

² See Chapter IV.

³ *Life of Dean Thomas*, p. lxxxv.

English verses and an English oration from the Scholars in the Gallery of the College Hall.¹

John Thomas was the third of these octogenarian Deans. He was promoted to the Deanery through the interest of his predecessor Zachary Pearce, and held it for six years alone; then, on Pearce's death, he received also the See of Rochester. He was buried in his parish, Bletchingley, but has a monument in the South Aisle of the Nave,

John Thomas, 1768. Bishop of Rochester, 1774; died at Bromley, Aug. 23, 1798.

next to his patron Pearce, and copied by Bacon from a portrait by Reynolds. The King was overheard to say on his appointment, 'I am glad to prefer Dr. Thomas, who has so much merit. We shall now be sure of a good sermon on Good Friday.'² This alludes to the long-established custom, by which the Dean of Westminster (probably from the convenience of his being in town at that season) preaches always in the Chapel Royal on that day.³ Nine of these are published. He was remarkable for performing his part at the Installations of the Bath 'with peculiar address and adroitness.'⁴ 'Which Dr. Thomas do you mean?' asked some one shortly before his promotion, in allusion to two of that name. — 'Dr. John Thomas.' 'They are both named John.' — 'Dr. Thomas who has a living in the city.' 'They have both livings in the city.' — 'Dr. Thomas who is chaplain to the King.' 'They are both chaplains to the King.' — 'Dr. Thomas who is a very good preacher.' 'They are both very good preachers.'

Sermons on Good Friday.

¹ Chapter Book, June 3, 1705. *Gent. Mag.* xxx. 297.

² *Life of Dean Thomas*, p. lxxxii.

³ The custom appears in Evelyn's *Memoirs*, iii. 79, 158. So the three Good Friday sermons of Andrewes when Dean of Westminster. (*Life of Andrewes*, 97.)

⁴ *Life of Dean Thomas*, p. lxxxix. He made a bequest to the school to replace the fund left by Titley.

—‘Dr. Thomas who squints.’ ‘They both squint.’ — They were both afterwards Bishops.¹

A remarkable scene is related in connection with his office, by one who was at the time a Westminster scholar. He was, in the days of its highest unpopularity, an advocate for the removal of the disabilities of Roman Catholics. Accordingly, when returning from the Abbey he was met in the cloisters ‘by a band of tumultuous and misguided enthusiasts, who seized him by his robes, and demanded “how he meant to vote in the House of Lords?” To which with great presence and firmness the Bishop replied, “For your interests and my own.” “What then? you don’t mean to vote for Popery?” — “No,” said he, “thank God, that is no part of our interests in this Protestant country.” Upon hearing which one of the party clapped his Lordship on the back, and cleared the passage for him, calling out, “Make way for the Protestant Bishop.”’² To his turn for music the Abbey doubtless owed the refitting of the Choir in his time, and also the Festival on the centenary of Handel’s ^{Handel Festival, 1784.} birth.³ It was suggested by Lord Fitzwilliam, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, and Joah Bates. The Nave was arranged by James Wyatt. The orchestra was at the west end. Burney remarks on the fitness with which, in the Hallelujah Chorus, the orchestra seemed ‘to unite with the saints and martyrs represented on the stained glass in the west window, which had all the appearance of a continuation of it.’ The King and Royal family, and the chief personages, sate at the east

¹ *Life of Bishop Newton.*

² *Life of Dean Thomas*, p. lxxxvi.

³ Neale, i. 211.

⁴ Burney’s *Account of the Handel Commemoration*, part vi. p. 84.

end. The School were in the Choir behind. The organ, just built by Green of Islington for Canterbury, was put up in the Abbey, 'before its departure for the place of its destination.'¹ All the music was selected from Handel's own compositions, and it is said that at the Hallelujah Chorus George III. rose, affected to tears, and the whole assembly stood up at the same moment. Hence the custom, now universal, of standing at the Hallelujah Chorus. It was originally intended to have been on the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of April, so as to coincide with the day of Handel's funeral in the Abbey, but was postponed till the 26th, 27th, and 29th of May, to which the 3rd and 5th of June were afterwards added. The success of this experiment, before an audience of 10,480 persons, encouraged the performance of similar meetings on a larger scale, under the title of 'Great Musical Festivals,' in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1791, when the performers are said to have amounted, though not on any one occasion, to 1,068 persons. They were discontinued during the war, and not revived till 1834, when a similar festival took place, which, though occurring at the exact interval of half a century from the first commemoration of Handel, did not bear that name, and included the works of nine other composers besides those of the great musician. It was suggested by Sir George Smart, and adopted, somewhat against the wishes of the Dean and Chapter, at the request or command of William IV., who wished to imitate his father's example. Its effect, however, was considerable, and it may be regarded as the parent of the concerts of the Sacred Harmonic Society in London.²

Sir Joshua Reynolds has immortalised for us the

¹ Burney, p. 8.

² *Handel Festival of 1859, at the Crystal Palace*, p. v.

features of the venerable Headmaster, Dr. Nicoll, who occupies the last half of the century. It was under him that Warren Hastings and Elijah Impey were admitted¹ in the same year, unconscious of the strange destiny which was afterwards to bring them together in India. They, with twenty-one other Westminster Scholars, in that distant land (in which so many of this famous School have made their fame or found their grave), commemorated their recollection of their boyish days in Dean's Yard and on the Thames by determining to present to the Scholars' Table a silver cup,² which, inscribed with their names, and ornamented by handles in the form of elephants, is still used on the solemn festive occasions of the collegiate body. Contemporary with Hastings was another boy, of a gentler nature, on whom also, in spite of himself, Westminster left a deep impression. 'That I may do justice,' says the poet Cowper, 'to the place of my education, I must relate one mark of religious discipline which was observed at Westminster: I mean the pains which Dr. Nicoll took to prepare us for Confirmation. The old man acquitted himself of this duty like one who had a deep sense of its importance; and I believe most of us were struck by his manner and affected by his exhortations. Then, for the first time, I attempted to pray in secret.' Another serious impression is still more closely connected with the locality. 'Crossing St. Margaret's Churchyard late one evening, a glimmering light in the midst of it excited his curiosity, and, instead of quickening his speed, he, whistling to keep

Nicoll, Headmaster,
1733-38.
Warren Hastings,
1747.

Cowper,
1745-49.

¹ 1747: see *Alumni Westmonast.* pp. 342, 345.

² For the cup see *Alumni West.* 346; *Lusus Westm.* i. 326; ii. pp. vii. viii.

up his courage the while, went to see whence it proceeded. A gravedigger was at work there by lantern-light, and, just as Cowper came to the spot, he threw up a skull, which struck him on the leg. This gave an alarm to his conscience, and he reckoned the incident as among the best religious documents which he received at Westminster.¹ Amongst his other school-fellows were Churchill, Lloyd, Coleman, and Cumberland (who was in the same house with him), and Lord Dartmouth (who sate side by side with him in the sixth form), and the five Bagots, 'very amiable and valuable boys they were.'² Doubtless much of the severe indignation expressed in the 'Tirocinium' was suggested by his recollection of those days; but when he wished for comfort in looking backward, 'he sent his imagination upon a trip thirty years behind him. She was very obedient and very swift of foot; and at last sat him down in the sixth form at Westminster' — 'receiving a silver groat for his exercise, and acquiring fame at cricket and football.'³ Nicoll was succeeded by Markham, also known to us through Reynolds's portrait, friend of Hastings⁴ and of Mansfield. He became tutor to George IV., and rose to the see of York. He was buried in his old haunts in the North Cloister, where a monument is erected to him by his grandchildren. Of the Prebendaries of this period some notice may be given. In the South Transept lies John Heylin, the mystic friend of Butler, and preacher of the sermon (on 2 Tim. ii. 15, 16) at his consecration.⁵

Markham,
Headmaster,
1758, buried
Nov. 11,
1807.

John Heylin,
1742; buried
Aug. 17,
1759.
Wilson,
1748-83.

¹ Southey's *Cowper*, i. 13, 14.

² Ibid. i. 15, 17-20.

³ His Theological Lectures to the King's Scholars have been published.

⁴ Ibid. v. 114.

⁵ *Alumni West.* 318.

Another was Thomas Wilson, son of the good Bishop, whose strenuous and solitary opposition to the formation of Dean's Yard has been already noticed.¹ Kennicott. July-Oct., 1770. A stall at Westminster was the first reward of Dr. Kennicott for his lectures on the Old Testament, so fiercely attacked, and afterwards so highly valued.

The eighteenth century closes with Horsley. He won, it is said, his preferment to the Deanery and the See of Rochester by a sermon which, as Bishop Samuel Horsley. 1793-1802. of St. David's, he preached in the Abbey on January 30, 1793, before the House of Lords, on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., and a few days after the execution of Louis XVI. It was customary, on these and on like occasions, for the House of Lords to attend Divine Service in the Abbey, and for the House of Commons in St. Margaret's Church. The Temporal Peers sate on the south side, with the Lord Chancellor at their head — originally in the pew under Richard II.'s picture, in later times near the Dean's or in the Subdean's stall. The Bishops were on the north side. The solemn occasion, no doubt, of Horsley's sermon added to the grandeur of those sonorous utterances. 'I perfectly recollect,' says an eyewitness, 'his impressive manner, and can fancy that the sound still vibrates in my ears.'² When he burst into the peroration connecting together the French and English regicides — 'O my country! read the horror of thy own deed in this recent heightened imitation, and lament and weep that this black French treason

¹ He wrote a preface to a pamphlet defending the east window in St. Margaret's from a process instituted against the churchwardens of the parish by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, under the Act which was recently revived against the Dean and Chapter of Exeter for the removal of images from Exeter Cathedral.

² Nichols, iv. 685.

should have found its example in that crime of thy unnatural sons!'—the whole of the august assembly rose, and remained standing till the conclusion of the sermon. The Deanery of Westminster fell vacant in that same year, and it was given to Horsley, who held it, with the See of Rochester, till his translation to St. Asaph, in 1802. 'He wore the red ribbon of the Bath in every time and place, like Louis XIV., who went to bed in his wig.'¹ His despotic utterances remain in the tones of his Chapter Orders—'We, the Dean, do peremptorily command and enjoin,' etc. He marked his brief stay in office by special consideration of the interests of the Precentor, Minor Canons, and Lay Clerks of Westminster. When, four years afterwards, he died at Brighton, and was buried at St. Mary's Newington, which he held with the See of St. Asaph, 'the Choir of Westminster Abbey attended his funeral, to testify their gratitude.'²

Horsley was succeeded by Vincent, who had profited by his superior's classical criticisms whilst Horsley³ was Dean, and he Headmaster. His long connection with the Abbey, and his tomb in the South Transept, have been already noticed.⁴ Of his own good qualities, both as a teacher and scholar, 'the sepulchral stone' (as the inscription written by himself records) 'is silent.' His appointment was marked by a change in the office, which restored the Deanery of Westminster to its independent position. The See of Rochester, for almost the first time for 140 years, was

¹ *Lambethiana*, iii. 203. The portrait of him at the Deanery without the badge of the Order was evidently taken after his translation to St. Asaph.

² Nichols, iv. 681. *Gent. Mag.* lxxii. 586.

³ Pref. to *Vincent's Sermons*, p. xxxiv.

⁴ Chapter IV.

parted from it. It is said that, shortly after his nomination, he met George III. on the terrace of Windsor Castle. The King expressed his regret at the separation of the two offices. The Dean replied that he was perfectly content. 'If you are satisfied,' said the King, 'I am not. They ought not to have been separated — they ought not to have been separated.' However, they were, happily, never reunited, and Vincent continued his Westminster career in the Deanery till his death. 'If he had had the choice of all the preferments in his Majesty's gift, there is none,' he said, 'that he should rather have had than the Deanery of Westminster.' His name is perpetuated in Westminster by the conversion into Vincent Square of that part of Tothill Fields which had been appropriated to the playground of the School.¹ From his exertions was obtained the Parliamentary grant for the reparation of the exterior of Henry VII.'s Chapel. His scholars long remembered his swinging pace, his sonorous quotations, and the loud Latin call of *Eloquere, puer, eloquere*, with which he ordered the boys to speak out. They testified that at his lectures preparatory to the Holy Communion there was never known an instance of any boy treating the disquisition with levity, or not showing an eagerness to be present at, or to profit by, the lesson.² To Vincent succeeded Ireland, whose benefactions

John
Ireland,
1815-42.

at Oxford will long preserve his name in the recollection of grateful scholars. He is the last Dean buried in the Abbey. He lies in the South Transept, with his schoolfellow Gifford, translator of Juvenal, and first editor of the 'Quarterly.'

¹ See *Lusus Westmonast.* i. p. 296. For his death, see *ibid.* p. 239.

² *Gent. Mag.* xlv. 633.

'With what feelings,' says that faithful friend, 'do I trace the words — "the Dean of Westminster." Five-and-forty springs have now passed over my head since I first found Dr. Ireland, some years my junior, in our little school, at his spelling-book. During this long period, our friendship has been without a cloud; my delight in youth, my pride and consolation in age. I have followed with an interest that few can feel, and none can know, the progress of my friend from the humble state of a curate to the elevated situation which he has now reached, and in every successive change have seen, with inexpressible delight, his reputation and the wishes of the public precede his advancement. His piety, his learning, his conscientious discharge of his sacred duties, his unwearied zeal to promote the interests of all around him, will be the theme of other times and other pens; it is sufficient for my happiness to have witnessed at the close of a career, prolonged by Infinite Goodness far beyond my expectations, the friend and companion of my heart in that dignified place, which, while it renders his talents and his virtues more conspicuous, derives every advantage from their wider influence and exertion.'¹

The remaining years of this century are too recent for detailed remarks. The names of Carey, Page, Good-enough, Williamson, and Liddell will still be remembered, apart from the other spheres in which they each shone, in their benefactions or improvements of Westminster School — even of the Westminster play. To Ireland succeeded Turton, for a brief stay, before his removal to the See of Ely. Then came one whose government of Westminster, though overclouded at its close, has left deep traces on the place. If the memory of the eagles, serpents, and

Thomas
Turton,
1842-45;
died 1864.
Samuel
Willberforce,
1845.
William
Buckland,
1845-56.
Richard
Chenevix
Trench,
1856-63.

¹ Preface to the *Memoirs of Ben Jonson*, by William Gifford, p. 72.

monkeys, which crowded the Deanery in Dean Buckland's geological reign, awake a grotesque reminiscence, his active concern in the welfare of the School, his keen interest in the tombs — we must add, the very stones and soil — of the Abbey, have been rarely equalled amongst his predecessors. The two remaining Deans became Prelates, whose names belong to the history and to the literature of England. But their memory is too fresh to be touched.

There are a few occasional solemnities to be noticed before we part from the general history. Baptisms and marriages have been comparatively rare. Marriages, which were occasionally celebrated in Henry VII's Chapel, were discontinued after the passing of Lord Hardwicke's Act in 1754, and were only revived within the last ten years. Confirmations have been confined to the celebration of that rite for the Westminster School, by some Bishop connected with Westminster, appointed for the purpose by the Dean. Ordinations have very rarely¹ taken place in the Abbey. Of episcopal consecrations the most notable instances have been mentioned as we have proceeded. After their sudden and striking accumulation at the Restoration, they gradually died away.² It was reserved for this century to witness the reintroduction of the rite in a more imposing form, not as before in the Chapel of the Infirmary, or of Henry VII., but in the Choir of the Abbey itself. This change coincides

Consecra-
tion of
Colonial
Bishops.

¹ Besides that of Ferrar by Laud, there was one by the Bishop of Bangor (Roberts), Sept. 4, 1660, in Henry VII's Chapel (Evelyn's *Memoirs*, ii. 153), and by Sprat in 1689 (Statutes of King's College, Cambridge, p. xxv).

² The only one in the last century was Bishop Dawes of Chester on February 8, 1708; and the discontinuance of the ceremony is rendered more significant from the fact, that the consecration of another Bishop

with the extension of the Colonial Episcopate¹ which marked the administration of Archbishop Howley, a movement which doubtless contained from the beginning a germ of future mischief,² but which was projected with the best intentions, and often with the best results. The first of these, in 1842, included the Bishops of Barbadoes, Antigua, Guiana, Gibraltar, and Tasmania. This was followed in 1847 by the consecration of three Australian Bishops, and the first Bishop of South Africa, Robert Gray, Bishop of Capetown, and in 1850 by that of Francis Fulford, Bishop of Montreal, who both became subsequently known from the controversies, political and theological, in which they were involved. On Ascension Day, 1858, was consecrated George Lynch Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta. Years afterwards, from the shores from which he never returned, he wrote with a touching fervour of the scenes he had known so well to the friend who had meanwhile become the head of 'that noblest and grandest of English Churches, the one to which in historical and religious interests even Canterbury must yield, the one in which,' he adds, 'I worshipped as a boy, in which I was confirmed, and in which I was consecrated to the great work of my life.' In 1859, the first Bishops of Columbia, Brisbane, and St. Helena, and, in 1863, two missionary Bishops of Central Africa and of the Orange River Free State, were consecrated. It was not till 1859 that the practice of consecrating in the Abbey the Bishops of English sees was

of Chester (Peploe), April 12, 1726, took place at Westminster, not in the Abbey, but in the parish church of St. Margaret.

¹ Its main promoter, Ernest Hawkins, for many years Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, after finding a few years' respite from his labours in the Precincts of Westminster, now lies in the East Cloister.

² See the last letter of Dr. Arnold, May 22, 1842; *Life*, p. 604.

revived, in the case of Bangor. In 1864 and 1868 followed those of Ely and Hereford. The year 1869 began and ended with a remarkable consecration. On Feb. 24, a distinguished Canon and benefactor of Westminster (Dr. Wordsworth), attended by the two houses of Convocation then sitting, was consecrated to the See of Lincoln in the same Precincts where his illustrious predecessor, St. Hugh, had been raised to the same office. On Dec. 21, under protest from the same Prelate, and three others, was consecrated to the See of Exeter, the worthy successor of Arnold at Rugby (Dr. Temple), who, after an opposition similar to that which, no doubt, would have met his predecessor's elevation, entered on his Episcopal duties with a burst of popular enthusiasm such as has hardly fallen to the lot of any English Prelate since the Reformation. In the interval between those two (on Oct. 28), Dr. Moberly was consecrated to the See of Salisbury. On St. Mark's Day (April 25), 1879, was consecrated to the See of Durham the scholar who has erected the modern Cambridge school of theology — Joseph Lightfoot. No Bishop of Durham had been consecrated in the South since Ralph Flambard, in 1099, in St. Paul's.

We must cast a glance backwards over the history of the whole fabric during this period. The aversion from mediæval architecture and tradition had indeed been allowed here, as elsewhere in Europe, its full scope. Not only in the monuments, as we have already seen, but in the general neglect of the beauty of the fabric, had this sentiment made itself manifest. The Westminster boys were allowed 'to skip from tomb to tomb in the Confessor's Chapel.'¹ On Sundays the town boys sate in the Sacrarium, doubtless not

Decline of
mediæval
taste.

¹ Malcolm, p. 167.

without injury to the precious mosaic pavement. There was also 'playing at football, in some of the most curious parts of the Abbey, by the men appointed to show them.'¹ The scenery of the Westminster Play was kept in the Triforium of the North Transept.² There was a thoroughfare from Poets' Corner to the western door, and to the Cloisters.³ The South Transept was a 'newswalk' for the singing men⁴ and their friends. The poor of St. Margaret's begged in the Abbey even during Prayers,⁵ as they had, ever since the time of Elizabeth, had their food laid out in the South Transept during the sermon, till within the memory of man.⁶ Before the Restoration the right and emoluments of showing the tombs was conferred by patent for life on private individuals. After the Restoration, this was made dependent on the pleasure of the Chapter. From 1697 down to 1822, the right was transferred to the Minor Canons and Lay Vicars, who thus eked out their insufficient incomes. The memory of old inhabitants of the Cloisters still retains the figure of an aged Minor Canon, who on Sundays preached two-thirds of the sermons in the course of the year, and on week-days sate by the tomb of the Princess Catharine, collecting from the visitors the fee of two shillings a head, with his tankards of ale beside him.⁷ The income of the

¹ *Gent. Mag.* lxxi. pt. ii. pp. 101, 623.

² Till April 27, 1829, when they caught fire. From this dates the institution of the nightly watchmen. (*Gent. Mag.* pt. i. pp. 363, 460.)

³ Malcolm, pp. 163, 167. The iron gate which now stands by André's monument originally stood by that of Ball, and was opened after the service to allow the thoroughfare.

⁴ Dart, i. 41.

⁵ *London Spy*, p. 179.

⁶ Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 132.

⁷ For the fees see Chapter Book, Jan. 28 and May 6, 1779, May 29, 1823, May 6, 1825, June 2, 1826; *Gent. Mag.* 1801, pt. i. p. 328; 1826, pt. i. p. 343.

Minor Canons was further assisted by the candles which they carried off from the church services. The Waxworks formed a considerable part of the attraction.¹

The statues over Henry VII.'s Chapel had been taken down, lest they should fall on Members of Parliament going to their duties.² Those which had stood on the north side were stowed away in the roof.³ 'Nothing could be more stupid' (so it was thought by the best judges), 'than laying statues on their backs'—nothing more barbarous and devoid of interest than the Confessor's Chapel.⁴ Atterbury, as we have seen, regarded with pleasure the debasement of the Northern Porch. The Wren family regarded the immense superiority of the Whitehall Banqueting House to Henry VII.'s Chapel as incontestable.⁵ All manner of proposed changes were under discussion. One was to remove entirely the interesting Chapel of the Revestry, with the monuments of Argyll, Gay, and Prior.⁶ Another was to fill up the intercolumniations in the Nave with statues. The two first were already occupied by Captain Montague and Captain Harvey.⁷ The Chapter, in 1706, petitioned Queen Anne for the Altarpiece once in Whitehall Chapel, then at Hampton Court, which later on in the century was condemned as 'unpardonable, tasteless, and absurd;' and in erecting it, the workmen broke up a large portion of the ancient mosaic pavement,⁸ and, but for the intervention

¹ See Note at end of Chapter IV.

² Akerman, ii. 6.

³ Ibid. ii. 2. See *Gent. Mag.* lxxiii. pt. ii. p. 636; Neale, i. 214.

⁴ See the continuator of Stow.

⁵ *Parentalia*, p. 308.

⁶ *Gent. Mag.* 1772, xlii. 517.

⁷ Malcolm, p. 175.

⁸ Seymour's *Stow*, ii. 541; Widmore, p. 165.

of Harley, Earl of Oxford, would have destroyed the whole. It was then proposed to remove the screen of the Confessor's Chapel, and to carry back the Choir as far as Henry VII.'s Chapel, 'huddling up the royal monuments to the body of the Church or the Transepts.'¹

The venerable Sanctuary disappeared in 1750. The Gatehouse, hardly less venerable, but regarded as 'that very dismal horrid gaol,'² fell in 1777, before the indignation of Dr. Johnson, 'against a building so offensive that it ought to be pulled down, for it disgraces the present magnificence of the capital, and is a continual nuisance to neighbours and passengers.'³ The Clock-tower of Westminster Palace was a heap of ruins.⁴ In 1715 the Great Bell, which used to remind the Judges of Westminster of their duty, was purchased for St. Paul's Cathedral. On its way through Temple Bar, as if in indignation at being torn from its ancient home,⁵ it rolled off the carriage, and received such injury as to require it to be recast. The inscription round its rim still records that it came from the ruins of Westminster. The mullions of the Cloisters would have perished but for the remonstrance of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.⁶ We have seen how narrowly the tomb of Aymer de Valence escaped at the erection of Wolfe's monument, and how, at the funeral of the Duchess of Northumberland, the tomb of Philippa, Duchess of York, was removed to make way for the family vault

¹ *Gent. Mag.* 1799, pt. ii. p. 115; Walpole, vi. 223.

² Gwyn's *London and Westminster* (1766), p. 90. Chapter Order, July 10, 1776.

³ See Chapter Book, March 3, 1708.

⁴ See *London Spy*, p. 187.

⁵ *Westminster Improvements*, p. 15. See Chapter V. p. 29.

⁶ Six windows were already gone. (*Gent. Mag.* 1799, pt. i. p. 447.)

of the Percys, and the screen of the Chapel of St. Edmund and the canopy of John of Eltham were totally destroyed.¹

Yet, amidst all this neglect and misuse, as we think it, a feeling for the Abbey more tender, probably, than had existed in the time of its highest splendour and wealth, had been gradually springing up. From the close of the sixteenth century we trace the stream of visitors, which has gone on flowing ever since. Already in the reign of Elizabeth and James I., distinguished foreigners were taken 'in gondolas to the beautiful and large Royal Church called Westminster,' and saw the Chapel 'built eighty years ago by King Henry VII.,' the Royal Tombs, the Coronation Stone, the Sword of Edward III., and 'the English ministers in white surplices such as the Papists wear,' singing alternately while the organ played. Camden's printed book on the Monuments was sold by the vergers.² Possibly (we can hardly say more), it was in Westminster³ that the youthful Milton let his

Gradual
revival of
medieval
art.

1592.

Due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloisters pale,
And love the high-embowed roof,
With antick pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.

It is certain that, in the beginning of the next century, the feeling had generally spread. The coarse 'London Spy,' when he was conveyed from the narrow

¹ *Gent. Mag.* 1799, pt. ii. p. 733.

² Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*, pp. 9, 10, 132, 139.

³ The choice lies between Westminster, Old St. Paul's, or King's College, Cambridge.

passage which brought him in sight of 'that ancient and renowned structure of the Abbey' to which he was an utter stranger, could not behold the outside of the awful pile without reverence and amazement. 'The whole seemed to want nothing that could render it truly venerable.' After going to 'afternoon prayers' in the Choir, 'amongst many others, to pay with reverence that duty which becomes a Christian,' and having 'their souls elevated by the divine harmony of the music, far above the common pitch of their devotions,' they 'made an entrance into the east end of the Abbey, which was locked, and payed a visit to the venerable shrines and sacred monuments of the dead nobility;' and then 'ascended some stone steps, which brought them to a Chapel, that looks so far exceeding human excellence, that a man would think it was knit together by the fingers of angels, pursuant to the directions of Omnipotence.'¹ The testimony of Addison, Steele, and Goldsmith need not be repeated. Lord Hervey was taken by a Bishop 'to Westminster Abbey to show a pair of old brass gates to Henry VII.'s Chapel,' on which he enlarged with such 'particular detail and encomium,' before George II. and Queen Caroline, that the intelligent Queen was 'extremely pleased and the King stopped the conversation short.' Burke 'visited the Abbey soon after his arrival in town,' and 'the moment he entered he felt a kind of awe pervade his mind, which he could not describe; the very silence seemed sacred.'² Then arose the decisive verdict from an unexpected quarter. In Horace Walpole the despised mediæval taste found its first powerful patron.

Oh! happy man that shows the tombs, said I,

¹ *London Spy*, p. 178.

² Prior's *Life of Burke*, i. 39.

was a favourite quotation of the worldly courtier.¹ 'I love Westminster Abbey,' he writes, 'much more than levées and circles, and — no treason, I hope — am fond enough of kings as soon as they have a canopy of stone over them.' He was consulted by the successive Deans on the changes proposed in the Abbey. He prevented, as we have seen, the destruction of Valence's tomb, and 'suggested an octagon canopy of open arches, like Chichester Cross, to be elevated on a flight of steps with the Altar in the middle, and semicircular arcades to join the stalls, so that the Confessor's Chapel and tomb may be seen through in perspective.'² In the whole building he delighted to see the reproduction of an idea which seemed to have perished. 'In St. Peter's at Rome one is convinced that it was built by great princes. In Westminster Abbey one thinks not of the builder; the religion of the place makes the first impression, and, though stripped of its shrines and altars, it is nearer converting one to Popery than all the regular pageantry of Roman domes. One must have taste to be sensible of the beauties of Grecian architecture:

¹ The line is from Pope's *Imitation of Donne's Satire*.

'Then, happy man who shows the Tombs!' said I,
 'He dwells amidst the royal family;
 He every day from king to king can walk,
 Of all our Harries, all our Edwards talk;
 And get, by speaking truth of monarchs dead,
 What few can of the living — ease and bread.'

The original in Donne is this: —

'At Westminster,'
 Said I, 'the man that keeps the Abbey-tombs,
 And, for his price, doth with whoever comes
 Of all our Harrys and our Edwards talk,
 From king to king and all their kin can walk.
 Your ears shall hear nought but kings; your eyes meet
 Kings only; the way to it is King's Street.'

² Suggested to Dean Pearce (Walpole's *Letters*, vi. 223), and to Dean Thomas (ibid. vii. 306).

one only wants passion to feel Gothic. Gothic churches infuse superstition, Grecian temples admiration. The Papal See amassed its wealth by Gothic cathedrals, and displays it in Grecian temples.'¹

In the last years of the eighteenth century, John Carter, the author of 'Ancient Sculptures and Paintings,' was the Old Mortality of the past glories of Westminster. There is a mixture of pathos and humour in the alternate lamentations over the 'excrecences which disfigure and destroy the fair form of the structure,' and 'the heartfelt satisfaction' with which he hangs over the remnants of antiquity still unchanged. He probably was the first to recognise the singular exemption of the Abbey from the discolouring whitewash which, from the close of the Middle Ages, swept over almost all the great buildings of Europe.² 'There is one religious structure in the kingdom that stands in its original finishing, exhibiting all those modest hues that the native appearance of the stone so pleasingly bestows. This structure is the Abbey Church of Westminster . . . There I find my happiness the most complete. This Church has not been *whitewashed*.'³ In his complaints against the monuments setting at nought the old idea 'that the statues of the deceased

Carter, the antiquary.

¹ Walpole, i. 108.

² The practice of whitewashing was, however, not peculiar to modern times or Protestant countries. Even the Norman nave of the Abbey was whitewashed in the time of Edward III. (*Gleanings*, 53.) The pompous inscription over the door of Toledo Cathedral records that in the year after that in which 'Granada was taken with the whole kingdom, by the King our Lord Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella in the Archiepiscopate of the Most Reverend Lord Don Pedro Gonzales de Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain, and all the Jews driven out from all the kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, and Sicily, this holy church was . . . repaired and *whitewashed* by Francis Ferdinand of Cuenca, Archdeacon of Calatrava.'

³ *Gent. Mag.* 1799, pt. ii. p. 66.

should front the east,'¹ and against the 'whimsical infatuation of their costumes;'² in his ideal of the architect who should watch with anxious care the state of the innumerable parts of the pile;'³ in his protest against Queen Anne's altar-screen, 'as ill-calculated for its place as a mitre in the centre of a salt-cellar;'⁴ in his enthusiastic visions of 'religious curiosities, myriads of burning tapers, clouds of incense, gorgeous vestments, glittering insignia, Scriptural banners'⁵ — we see the first rise of that wave of antiquarian, æsthetic, architectural sentiment which has since overspread the whole of Christendom. Its gradual advance may be detected even in the dry records of the Chapter,⁶ and has gone on, with increasing volume, to our own time. The Chapel of Henry VII., on the appeal of Dean Vincent, was repaired by Parliament. The houses on the north side of the Chapel were pulled down.⁷ He too removed the huge naval monuments which obstructed the pillars of the Nave.⁸ The North Transept, at the petition of the Speaker, was for a time used⁹ for a service for the children of the school in Orchard Street. Free admission was given to the larger part of the Abbey under

¹ *Gent. Mag.* 1799, pp. 669, 670.

² *Ibid.* p. 1016.

³ *Ibid.* pt. ii. p. 735.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 736.

⁵ *Ibid.* pt. ii. p. 861.

⁶ No monument was to be erected before submitting a draught of it to the Chapter. (Chapter Book, May 16, 1729.) The erection of Monk's monument was at first 'unanimously' prevented, 'as hiding the curious workmanship of Henry VII.'s Chapel.' (*Ibid.* January 1, 1739.) No monument was henceforth to be attached to any of the pillars. (*Ibid.* June 6, 1807.) The shield and saddle of Henry V. were restored to their place over the King's tomb. (*Gent. Mag.* 1799, pt. i. p. 880.)

⁷ Chapter Book, 1804. Conti's *Westminster*, p. 268.

⁸ Vincent's *Sermons*, vol. i. Pref. p. liii.

⁹ Dec. 28, 1812.

Dean Ireland.¹ The Transepts were opened to the Choir under Dean Buckland. The Nave was used for special evening services under Dean Trench. The Reredos, of alabaster and mosaic, was raised under the care of the Subdean (Lord John Thynne), to whose watchful zeal for more than thirty years the Abbey was so greatly indebted. Future historians must describe the vicissitudes of taste, and the improvements of opportunities, which may mark the concluding years of the nineteenth century.

Two general reflections may close this imperfect sketch of Westminster Abbey before and since the Reformation: —

I. It would ill become those who have inherited the magnificent pile which has been entrusted to their care to undervalue the grandeur of the age which could have produced an institution capable of such complex development, and a building of such matchless beauty. Here, as often, 'other men have laboured, and we have entered into their labours.' But — comparing the Abbots with the Deans and Headmasters of Westminster, the Monks with the Prebendaries, and with the Scholars of the College — the benefits which have been conferred on the literature and the intelligence of England since the Reformation may fairly be weighed in the balance against the architectural prodigies which adorned the ages before. Whilst the dignitaries of the ancient Abbey, as we have seen, hardly left any moral or intellectual mark on their age, there have been those in the catalogue of former Deans, Prebendaries, and Masters — not to speak of innumer-

Compensation of gifts.

¹ Authorised guides were first appointed in 1826, and the nave and transepts opened, and the fees lowered in 1841, at the suggestion of Lord John Thynne.

able names among the scholars of Westminster — who will probably never cease to awaken a recollection as long as the British commonwealth lasts. The English and Scottish Confessions of 1561 and 1643, the English Prayer Book of 1662, and the American Prayer Book of 1789 — which derived their origin, in part at least, from our Precincts — have, whatever be their defects, a more enduring and lively existence than any result of the mediæval Councils of Westminster. And if these same Precincts have been disturbed by the personal contests of Williams and Atterbury, and by the unseemly contentions of Convocation, more than an equivalent is found in the violent scenes in St. Catherine's Chapel, the intrigues attendant on the election of the Abbots, and the deplorable scandals of the Sanctuary. Abbot Feckenham believed that,¹ 'so long as the fear and dread of the Christian name remained in England, the privilege of sanctuary in Westminster would remain undisturbed.' We may much more confidently say, that 'as long as the fear and dread of Christian justice and charity remain,' those unhappy privileges will never be restored, either here or anywhere else.² These differences, it is true, belong to the general advance of knowledge and power which has pervaded the whole of England since the sixteenth century. But not the less are they witnesses to the value of the Reformation —

¹ See Appendix to Chapter VI.

² For the moral state of the district surrounding the Abbey before and since the Reformation, a brief sketch has been given by one whose lifelong residence, and persevering promotion of all good works in the neighbourhood, well entitle him to the name of 'the Lay Bishop of Westminster.' See a statement published in 1850, by Sir William Page Wood (afterwards Lord Hatherley), with a Preface on the Westminster Spiritual Aid Fund, which was then set on foot and since kept up by the unwearied energy of Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, then Canon of Westminster, now Bishop of Lincoln.

not the less a compensation for the inevitable loss of those marvellous gifts, which passed away from Europe, Catholic and Protestant alike, with the close of the Middle Ages.

What is yet in store for the Abbey none can say. Much, assuredly, remains to be done to place it on a level with the increasing demands of the human mind, with the changing wants of the English people, with the never-ending 'enlargement of the Church,' for which every member of the Chapter is on his installation pledged to labour.¹

It is the natural centre of religious life and truth, if not to the whole metropolis, at least to the city of Westminster. It is the peculiar home of the entire Anglo-Saxon race, on the other side of the Atlantic no less than on this. It is endeared both to the conforming and to the nonconforming members of the National Church. It combines the full glories of Mediæval and of Protestant England. It is of all our purely ecclesiastical institutions the one which most easily lends itself to union and reconciliation, and is with most difficulty turned to party or polemical uses. By its history, its position, and its independence, it thus becomes in the highest and most comprehensive sense — what it has been well called — 'the Fortress of the Church of England,'² if only its garrison be worthy of it. Whilst Westminster Abbey stands, the Church of England stands.

¹ 'That those things which he hath promised, and which his duty requires, he may faithfully perform, to the praise and glory of the name of God, and the enlargement of His Church.' — *Prayer at the Installation of a Dean or a Canon*.

² 'Westminster Abbey is the fortress of the Church of England, and you are its garrison,' was the saying of a wise foreign King in speaking to a modern Dean of Westminster. 'In vain has this splendid church been built and sculptured anew,' was the like saying,

So long as its stones are not sold to the first chance purchaser; so long as it remains a sanctuary, not of any private sect, but of the English people; so long as the great Council of the nation which assisted at its first dedication recognises its religious purpose — so long the separation between the English State and the English Church will not have been accomplished.

II. This leads us to remember that the one common element which binds together, 'by natural piety,' the past changes and the future prospects of the Abbey, has been the intention, carried on from Continuity of worship. its Founder to the present day, that it should be a place dedicated for ever to the worship of God. Whilst the interest in the other events and localities of the building has slackened with the course of time, the interest connected with its sacred services has found expression in all the varying forms of the successive vicissitudes which have passed over the religious mind of England. The history of the 'Altar'¹ of Westminster Abbey is almost the history of the English Church.

though in a somewhat different mood, of Henry III. to its contentious Abbot, 'if the living stones of its head and members are engaged in unseemly strife.' (*Matt. Paris*, A.D. 1250.)

¹ The popular name of 'Altar' is nowhere applied to the Holy Table in the Liturgy or Articles. But it is used of the Table of Westminster Abbey in the Coronation Service issued by order of the Privy Council at the beginning of each reign. It is there preserved with other antique customs which have disappeared everywhere else. In no other place, and on no other occasion, could the word be applied so consistently with the tenor of the Reformed Liturgy. If an Altar be a place of Sacrifice, and if (as is well known) the only Sacrifices acknowledged in the English Prayer Book are those of praise and thanksgiving, and still more emphatically of human hearts and lives — then there is a certain fitness in this one application of the name of Altar. For here it signifies the place and time in which are offered up the Sacrifice of the Prayers and thanksgivings of the whole English nation, and the Sacrifice of the highest life in this church and realm, to the good of man and the honour of God.

The Monuments and Chapels have remained comparatively unchanged except by the natural decay of time. The Holy Table and its accompaniments alone have

The altar
of the 11th
century,

kept pace with the requirements of each succeeding period. The simple feeling of the early Middle Ages was represented in its original position,

of the 13th,

when it stood, as in most churches of that time, at the eastern extremity. In the

changes of the thirteenth century, which so deeply affected the whole framework of Christian doctrine, the new veneration for the local saint and for the Virgin Mother, whilst it produced the Lady Chapel and the Confessor's Shrine, thrust forward the High Altar to its present place in front of St. Edward's Chapel. The foreign art of the period left its trace in the richly-painted frontal,¹ the only remnant of the gorgeous

of the 15th,

Mediæval Altar.² When, in the fifteenth century, reflecting the increasing divisions and narrowing tendencies of Christendom, walls of partition sprang up everywhere across the Churches of the West, the Screen was erected which parted asunder the Altar from the whole eastern portion of the Abbey.

of the Reformation,

At the Reformation and during the Commonwealth, the wooden movable Table³ which was brought down into the body of the Church, reproduced, though

of the Restoration,
of Queen
Anne,

by a probably undesigned conformity, the primitive custom both of East and West. Its return to its more easterly position marks the triumph of the Laudian usages under the Stuarts. Its adornment by the sculptures and marbles of Queen Anne follows the development of classical art in that

¹ The fate of the Altar and the Table in Henry VII's Chapel has been already described in p. 207.

² *Gleanings*, 105-111.

³ This Table is probably the one now in the Confessor's Chapel.

our Augustan age.¹ The plaster restoration of the original Screen by Bernasconi, in 1824, indicates the first faint rise of the revival of Gothic art. At its elevation was present a young architect,² whose name of the 19th century. has since been identified with the full development of the like taste in our own time, and who in the design of the new Screen and new altar, erected in 1867, has united the ancient forms of the fifteenth century with the simpler and loftier faith of the nineteenth. And now the contrast of its newness and youth with the venerable mouldering forms around it, is but the contrast of the perpetual growth of the soul of religion with the stationary or decaying memories of its external accompaniments. We sometimes think that it is the Transitory alone which changes, the Eternal which stands still. Rather the Transitory stands still, fades, and falls to pieces: the Eternal con-

¹ This Altarpiece, once at Whitehall, and then at Hampton Court, was then, through the influence of Lord Godolphin, given by Queen Anne to the Abbey, where it remained till the reign of George IV. (See Neale, ii. 38; Plate xlii.) The order for its removal appears in the Chapter Book, May 29, 1823; { March 23, } 1824. It was then given by Dr. King, Bishop of Rochester, who had been Prebendary of Westminster, to the parish church of Burnham, near Bridgewater, of which he had been vicar, and in which it still remains.

² This was Sir Gilbert Scott's earliest recollection of Westminster Abbey. The frieze in the new Screen has been filled by Mr. Armstead with groups representing the Life of our Lord; the larger niches with St. Peter and St. Paul as the patron saints of the Church, and Moses and David as representing the lawgivers and the poets; the smaller niches with the four Prophets, supporting the four Evangelists. The mosaic of the Last Supper is by Salviati, from a design of Messrs. Clayton and Bell. The cedar table was carved by Farmer and Brindley, with biblical subjects suggested by Archdeacon (since Bishop) Wordsworth. The black marble slab (originally ordered March 23, 1824, and apparently taken from the tomb of Anne of Cleves) is the only part of the former structure remaining. The work was erected chiefly from the payments of the numerous visitors at the Great Exhibition of 1862.

tinues, by changing its form in accordance with the movement of advancing ages.

The successive Pulpits of the Abbey, if not equally expressive of the changes which it has witnessed, carry on the sound of many voices, heard with delight and wonder in their time. No vestige remains of the old mediæval platform whence the Abbots urged the reluctant court of Henry III. to the Crusades. But we have still the fragile structure from which Cranmer must have preached at the coronation and funeral of his royal godson;¹ and the more² elaborate carving of that which resounded with the passionate appeals, at one time of Baxter, Howe, and Owen, at other times of Heylin, Williams, South, and Barrow. That from which was poured forth the oratory of the Deans of the eighteenth century, from Atterbury to Horsley, is now in Trotterscliffe³ church, near Maidstone. The marble pulpit in the Nave, given in 1859 to commemorate the beginning of the Special Services, through which Westminster led the way in re-animating the silent naves of so many of our Cathedrals, has thus been the chief vehicle of the varied teaching of those who have been well called 'the People's Preachers': 'Vox quidem dissona, sed una religio.'⁴

It may be said that these sacred purposes are shared by the Abbey with the humblest church or chapel in the kingdom. But there is a peculiar charm added to the thought here, by the reflection that on it, as on a thin

¹ Now in Henry VII.'s Chapel.

² Now in the Triforium.

³ In its stead, in 1827, was erected in the Choir another, which in 1851 was removed to Shoreham, to give place to the present.

⁴ St. Jerome, *Opp.* i. p. 82.

(at times almost invisible) thread, has hung every other interest which has accumulated around the building. Break that thread; and the whole structure becomes an unmeaning labyrinth. Extinguish that sacred fire; and the arched vaults and soaring pillars would assume the sickly hue of a cold artificial Valhalla, and 'the rows of warriors and the walks of kings' would be transformed into the conventional galleries of a lifeless museum.

By the secret nurture of individual souls, which have found rest in its services¹ or meditated² in its silent nooks, or been inspired, whether in the thick of battle, or in the humblest³ walks of life, by the thought or the sight of its towers; by the devotions of those who in

¹ 'I went,' wrote De Foe, on Sept. 24, 1725, 'into the Abbey, and there I found the Royal tombs and the Monuments of the Dead remaining and increased; but the gazers, the readers of the epitaphs, and the country ladies to see the tombs were strangely decreased in number. Nay, the appearance of the Choir was diminished; for setting aside the families of the clergy resident and a very few more, the place was forsaken. "Well," said I, "then a man may be devout with the less disturbance;" so I went in, said my prayers, and then took a walk in the park.' (*Works*, iii. 427.)

² So, amongst others, the poet-painter Blake. Sir Henry Taylor describes the first visit of Webster, the American orator, to Westminster Abbey. 'He walked in, looked about him, and burst into tears.' (*English Poets*, ii. p. 231.)

³ See the touching story of the famous Baptist Missionary Marshman, who began his career as a bookseller's shop-boy:—

'The labour of trudging through the streets, day by day, with a heavy parcel of books, became at length disheartening; and having been one day sent to the Duke of Grafton with three folio vols. of Clarendon's History, he began to give way to melancholy, and as he passed Westminster Abbey laid down the load and sobbed at the thought that there was no higher prospect before him in life than that of being a bookseller's porter; but looking up at the building, and recalling to mind the noble associations connected with it, he brushed away his tears, replaced the load on his shoulders, and walked on with a light heart, determined to bide his time.'—The story of Carey, Marshman, and Ward, by John Clark Marshman, p. 47.

former times, it may be in much ignorance, have had their faith kindled by dubious shrine or relic ; or, in after days, caught here the impassioned words of preachers of every school ; or have drunk in the strength of the successive forms of the English Liturgy : — by these and such as these, one may almost say, through all the changes of language and government, this giant fabric has been sustained, when the leaders of the ecclesiastical or political world would have let it pass away.

It was the hope of the Founder, and the belief of his age, that on St. Peter's Isle of Thorns was planted a ladder, on which angels might be seen ascending and descending from the courts of heaven. What is fantastically expressed in that fond dream has a solid foundation in the brief words in which the most majestic of English divines has described the nature of Christian worship. 'What,' he says, 'is the assembling of the Church to learn, but the receiving of angels descended from above — what to pray, but the sending of angels upwards ? His heavenly inspirations and our holy desires are so many angels of intercourse and commerce between God and us. As teaching bringeth us to know that God is our Supreme Truth, so prayer testifieth that we acknowledge Him our Sovereign Good.'¹

Such a description of the purpose of the Abbey, when understood at once in its fulness and simplicity, is, we may humbly trust, not a mere illusion. Not surely in vain did the architects of successive generations raise this consecrated edifice in its vast and delicate proportions, more keenly appreciated in this our day than in any other since it first was built ;

¹ Hooker's *Eccd. Pol.* v. 23.

designed, if ever were any forms on earth, to lift the soul heavenward to things unseen. Not surely in vain has our English language grown to meet the highest ends of devotion with a force which the rude native dialect and barbaric Latin of the Confessor's age could never attain. Not surely for idle waste has a whole world of sacred music been created, which no ear of Norman or Plantagenet ever heard, nor skill of Saxon harper or Celtic minstrel ever achieved. Not surely for nothing has the knowledge of the will of God steadily increased, century by century, through the better understanding of the Bible, of history, and of nature. Not in vain, surely, has the heart of man kept its freshness whilst the world has been waxing old, and the most restless and inquiring intellects clung to the belief that 'the Everlasting arms are still beneath us,' and that 'prayer is the potent inner supplement of noble outward life.' Here, if anywhere, the Christian worship of England may labour to meet both the strength and the weakness of succeeding ages, to inspire new meaning into ancient forms, and embrace within itself each rising aspiration after all greatness, human and Divine.

So considered, so used, the Abbey of Westminster may become more and more a witness to that one Sovereign Good, to that one Supreme Truth, a shadow of a great rock in a weary land, a haven of rest in this tumultuous world, a breakwater for the waves upon waves of human hearts and souls which beat unceasingly around its island shores.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

ACCOUNT OF THE SEARCH FOR THE GRAVE OF KING JAMES I.

IT is obvious that the interest of a great national cemetery like Westminster Abbey depends, in great measure, on the knowledge of the exact spots where the illustrious dead repose. Strange to say, this was not so easy to ascertain as might have been expected, in some of the instances where certainty was most to be desired. Not only, as has been already noticed, has no monument, since the time of Queen Elizabeth, been raised over any regal grave, but the Royal vaults were left without any name or mark to indicate their position. In two cases, however — the Georgian vault in the centre of the Chapel, and that of Charles II. in the south aisle — the complete and exact representation in printed works, and in the Burial Registers, left no doubt; and over these accordingly, in 1866, for the first time, the names of the Royal personages were inscribed immediately above the sites of their graves.

The Royal
vaults.
The vault of
George II.

It also happened that both of these vaults had been visited within the memory of man. Whilst the Georgian vault had been seen in 1837, when it was opened by Dean Milman,¹

¹ See Chapter III. There is an interesting description of this vault in Knight's *Windsor Guide* (1825), pp. 187, 188, as seen on the removal of Prince Alfred and Prince Octavius.

In connection with this vault it may be remarked that the central part of the marble floor is unlike the ends east and west. Perhaps the following conjecture (furnished by Mr. Poole) may explain this irregularity. Presuming that in 1699, when, as recorded on the pavement, it was arranged for Prebendary Killigrew, the whole of the area was

for the removal of an infant child of the King of Hanover; the vault of Charles II. was accidentally disclosed in 1867, in the process of laying down the apparatus for warming the Chapel of Henry VII.

In removing for this purpose the rubbish under the floor of the fourth or eastern bay of the south stalls a brick arch was found. From its position it was evident that it was the entrance to a vault made prior to the erection of the monument of General Monk, as well as of the stalls of the eastern bays in 1725. A small portion of the brickwork was removed, so as to effect an entrance sufficiently large to crawl in a horizontal posture into the vault.

There was an incline toward the south, ending on a flight of five steps terminating on the floor of the chamber. Underneath a barrel vault of stone, laid as close as possible, side by side, and filling the whole space of the lower chamber from east to west, were the coffins of Charles II., Mary II., William III., Prince George of Denmark, and Anne,¹ with the

formed of the same large lozenges of black and white marble as are now at the ends only, and that in 1737, when the large vault was formed by King George II., and nearly all the marble was necessarily taken up, much of it must have been broken and otherwise injured. (This has been found experimentally to be the unavoidable consequence of removing any of the pavement.) In order to utilise the parts that were so injured, it would be necessary to reduce the size of the broken lozenges, and thereby alter the design. Therefore, the original uninjured lozenges were relaid at each end, and the broken ones reduced and relaid to what was necessarily a different design, in the middle of the floor and above the direct descent into the vault. The number of reduced lozenges nearly coincides with the original number of large lozenges displaced.

¹ (1) COFFIN-PLATE OF KING CHARLES II.

Depositum
 Augustissimi et Serenissimi Principis
 Caroli Secundi
 Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regiæ,
 Fidei Defensoris, etc.
 Obiit sexto die Feb^r anno D^m 1684.
 Etatis sue quinquagesimo quinto,
 Regniq^{ue} sui tricesimo septimo.

usual urns at the feet, exactly corresponding with the plan in Dart's 'Westminster Abbey.' The wooden cases were decayed, and the metal fittings to their tops, sides, and angles were mostly loose or fallen. The lead of some of the coffins, especially that of Charles II., was much corroded; and in this case the plate had thus fallen sideways into the interior of the coffin. The inscriptions were examined, and found to

(2) COFFIN-PLATE OF QUEEN MARY II.

Maria Regina
Gulielmi III.
M.B. F.H.R. F.D.
Conjux et Regni Consort
Obiit A. R. vi.
Dec. xxviii.
Æt. xxxii.

On the urn:—

Depositum
Reginæ Mariæ II.
Uxor
Gulielmi III.

(3) COFFIN-PLATE OF WILLIAM III.

Gulielmus III.
Dei Gra:
M.B. F.H.R. F.D.
Obiit A.R. xiv.
A.D. mdcc. Mar. viii.
Æt. lxi. ineunte.

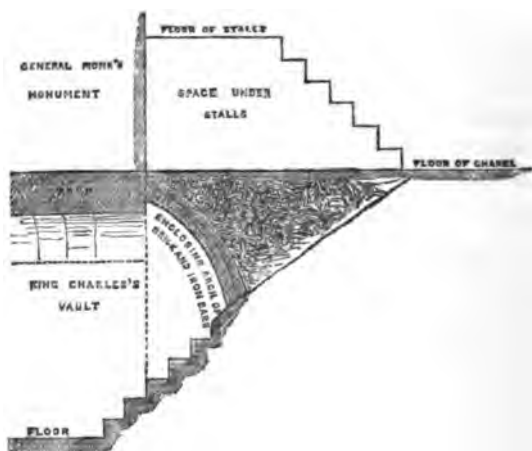
(4) COFFIN-PLATE OF PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK.

Depositum
Illustrissimi et Celsissimi Principis Georgii, Danicæ et Norvegiæ, necnon Gothorum et Vandalorum Principis Hereditarii Slesveci Holsatiæ, Stormariæ Dithmarsicæ et Cumbricæ ducis, Oldenburgi Delmenhorsti et Candalicæ Comitis: Ockinghamicæ Baronis, Serenissimi ac Potentissimi Christiani, ejus nominis Quinti, nuper Danicæ et Norvegiæ, etc. Regis Fratris unici: ac Serenissimæ et Excellentissimæ Principis Annæ, Dei gratia Magnæ Britannicæ, Francicæ, et Hibernicæ Reginae, Fidei Defensoris, etc. Mariti præcharissimi: omnium Reginae exercituum tam mari quam terris Præfecti Supremi, Magnæ Britannicæ et Hibernicæ, etc. Summi Admiralli, Regalis Castri Dubris Constabularii et Gubernatoris, ac Quinque Portuum Custodis, Regis Majestati a sanctioribus

agree almost exactly with those in the burial books, and with those in Neale's 'Westminster Abbey.' The plates are of copper gilt, except that of Charles II., which was of solid silver. The ornamental metal fittings are expensively and tastefully wrought, especially those of Queen Mary.

It is curious to observe the extreme simplicity of the inscriptions of William III. and his Queen, — in which, doubt-

consiliis, nobilissimique Ordinis Aureæ Periscelidis Equitis. Nati Hafniæ, Daniæ Metrop. II. Aprilis 1653, Denati Kensingtoniæ 28 Octobris 1708, ætatis suæ 56.



(5) COFFIN-PLATE OF QUEEN ANNE.

Depositum

Serenissimæ Potentissimæ et
Excellentissimæ Principis Annæ
Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ
Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginæ
Fidei Defensoris, etc.

Natæ in Palatio Sti. Jacobi die
Februarii 1664, denatæ

Kensingtoniæ primo die Augusti
1714, ætatis suæ quinquagesimo, regniq[ue] decimo tertio.

less by the King's wish, the barest initials were deemed sufficient to indicate the grandest titles, — and also to contrast this with the elaborate details concerning the insignificant consort of Queen Anne.

This accidental disclosure was the only opportunity which had been obtained of verifying the exact positions of any of the Royal graves; and the process of placing inscriptions in the other parts of the Chapel was suspended, from the uncertainty which was encountered at almost every turn.

It was in the close of 1868, that Mr. Doyne C. Bell, of the Privy Purse Office, Buckingham Palace, who was engaged in an investigation of the Royal interments, called my attention to the singular discrepancies of the narratives and documents relating to the grave of James I. and his Queen. According to Keepe,¹ writing in 1681, only fifty-six years after the burial of James, they were interred together 'in a vault on the north side of the tomb of King Henry VII.' Crull,² in 1722, repeats the same statement. Dart, in 1723, is more precise, but not consistent with himself. In one passage³ he describes them as 'deposited in a vault at the east end of the north aisle' (apparently beside the monuments of their two infant daughters); in another,⁴ that they 'rest in a vault by the old Duke of Buckingham's [Sheffield's] tomb,' he writes '8 ft. 10 in. long, 4 ft. 1 in. wide, 3 feet high.' The urn of Anne of Denmark he describes as being in Monk's vault, and conjectures that it was 'placed there when this vault was opened for the bones of Edward V. and his brother.' The Great Wardrobe Accounts speak generally of their interment in Henry VII.'s Chapel — but with no specific information, except what is furnished by an account 'For labour and charges in opening the vault wherein His Majesty's body is laid, and for taking down and setting up again the next partition in the Choir, and divers great pews of wainscot and divers other seats.' These arrangements seemed to point to the north aisle, where the partitions

¹ P. 103.² P. 113.³ I. p. 167.⁴ II. p. 54.

might have been removed for the sake of introducing the coffins. The MSS. records at the Heralds' College, usually so precise, are entirely silent as to the spot of the King's interment, but state that the Queen was buried in 'a little chapel at the top of the stairs leading into King Henry VII.'s Chapel, called ——,' (and here the clerk, having carefully ruled two pencil lines in order to insert the correct description of the chapel, has left them blank).

These accounts, though provokingly vague, all pointed to a vault common to the King and Queen, and on the north side of the Chapel, though diverging in their indications either of a vault at the entrance of the north aisle; or at the east end of the same aisle; or in the chapel by the Sheffield monument. The only statement to the contrary was one brief line in the Abbey register, to the effect that King James I. was buried 'in King Henry VII.'s vault.' Even this was contradicted by an entry in 1718, apparently indicating the place of the coffin of Anne of Denmark as on the north side of the Chapel, in a vault of the same dimensions as those given in Dart. Therefore, when compared with the printed narratives, this meagre record was naturally thought to indicate nothing more than either Henry VII.'s Chapel generally, or else some spot at the north-east, adjoining the Tudor vault, where, accordingly, as the nearest approach to reconciling the conflicting statements, the names of James I. and his Queen had in 1866 been conjecturally placed. When, however, my attention was thus more closely called to the ambiguity of the several records, I determined to take the opportunity of resolving this doubt with several others, arising, as I have already indicated, from the absence of epitaphs or precise records. In the anticipation of some such necessity, and at the same time in accordance with the long-established usage of the Abbey, as well as from a sense of the sacredness of the responsibility devolving on the guardian of the Royal Tombs, I had three years before entered into communication with the then Secretary of State, and obtained from him a general

approval of any investigation which historical research might render desirable. I further received the sanction on this occasion of the Lord Chamberlain, and also of the First Commissioner of Public Works, as representing Her Majesty, in the charge of the Royal monuments. The excavations were made under the directions of Mr. Gilbert Scott, the architect, and Mr. Poole, the master mason of the Abbey, on the spots most likely to lead to a result.

The first attempt was at the north-eastern angle of Henry VII.'s tomb, which, as already mentioned, had been selected as the most probable site of the grave of James I. The Argyle
The marble pavement was lifted up, and immediately disclosed a spacious vault, with four coffins. But they proved to be those of the great Duke of Argyle and his Duchess, side by side; and resting on them, of their daughters, Caroline Campbell, Countess of Dalkeith, and Mary Coke, widow of Viscount Coke, son of the Earl of Leicester.¹

This discovery, whilst it was the first check to the hope of verifying the grave of James I., was not without its own importance, even irrespectively of the interest attaching to the illustrious family whose remains were thus disclosed. The Burial Register described the Duke of Argyle as having been originally interred in the Ormond Vault, and afterwards removed to a vault of his own. This vault had hitherto been supposed to have been in the Sheffield Chapel close by. But it now appeared that when the Sheffield vault was filled and closed, and the steps leading to it had become useless, the Argyle vault was made in their place.²

¹ These are the two daughters mentioned in *The Heart of Midlothian*. Caroline was the one whom Mrs. Glass supposed to have been seen by Jeannie Deans, when she said that a lady had appeared of the name of Caroline. Mary was the lively little girl of twelve years old, who taunted her father with the recollection of Sheriffmuir; and who, at the extreme age of eighty-one, was the last of the family interred in the vault in 1811.

² It is curious that the coffin of the Duke is placed on the northern, instead of the southern, or dexter side; perhaps from the fact that the

The search was now continued in the space between Henry VII's tomb and the Villiers Chapel; but the ground was found to be unoccupied and apparently undisturbed. Westward and southward, however, three vaults were discovered, two lying side by side opposite the eastern bay of the north aisle, and one having a descent of steps under the floor opposite the adjoining bay. The vaults were covered with brick arches, and the descent with Purbeck stone slabs. That nearest to the dais west of Henry VII's tomb, which it partly underlies, was found to contain one coffin of lead rudely shaped to the human form, and attached to it was the silver plate containing the name and title of Elizabeth Claypole, the favourite daughter of Oliver Cromwell. This exactly tallied with the description given in the Burial Book discovered by Dean Bradford in 1728.¹ The lead coffin is in good order, and the

Empty vaults.
Vault of Elizabeth Claypole.

Duchess was interred before the removal of his coffin from the Ormond vault. The walls are brick, and the covering stone only a few inches below the surface. The lead coffin of the first interment is divested of its wooden case, that of the second partly so; but the two upper coffins with the velvet coverings are in good condition.

¹ In 1866, on first studying the Burial Books of the Abbey, I had been startled to find, on a torn leaf, under the date of 1728, the following entry: 'Taken off a silver plate to a lead coffin, and fixed on again by order of Dr. Samuel Bradford, Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster.' The inscription is then given in English, and the following notice is added:—'N.B.—The said body lays at the end of the step of the altar, on the north side, between the step and the stalls.'

In accordance with this indication, the name was inscribed on the stone in 1867. Since discovering this, by a reference of Colonel Chester to Noble's *Cromwell*, i. 140 (3rd ed.), I found the same inscription in Latin, with the additional fact that in 1725, during alterations previous to the first installation of the Bath, the workmen discovered, forced off, and endeavoured to conceal the plate. The clerk of the works, Mr. Fidoe, took it from them and delivered it to the Dean [erroneously called Dr. Pearce], who said he should not take anything that had been deposited with the illustrious dead, and ordered it to be replaced. The authority was Noble's 'friend, Dr. Longmete, who had it from Mr. Fidoe himself.'

silver plate perfect. The letters in the inscription exactly resemble those on the plate torn from her father's coffin, and now in the possession of Earl De Grey.¹

The vault² of Elizabeth Claypole was probably made expressly to receive her remains; and it may be that, from its isolation, it escaped notice at the time of the general disinterment in 1661. But it is remarkable that the adjoining vaults were quite empty, and until now quite unknown. Probably they were made in the time of Dean Bradford, as indicated by the Register of 1728, perhaps for the Royal Family; but when, at the death of the Queen of George II. in 1737, the extensive Georgian vault was constructed, these, having become superfluous, may then have been forgotten.

It was now determined to investigate the ground in the Sheffield Chapel, which hitherto had been supposed to contain the Argyll vault. Although, as has been ^{Vault of} seen, the MS. records in Heralds' College distinctly ^{Anne of} state that Anne of Denmark was buried in a little Chapel

¹ The actual inscription is as follows, and exactly agrees with the transcript in Noble, with the exception of *equitis* for *equitum*, which arose from a misunderstanding of the old characters:—

Depositum
Illustrissimæ Domine D. Elizabethæ nuper uxoris Honoratissimi
Domini Johannis Claypoole,
Magistri Equitum
necnon Filie Secundæ
Serenissimi et Celsissimi
Principis
Oliveri, Dei Gratia
Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ,
&c.
Protectoris.
Obiit
Apud Ædes Hamptonienſes
Sexto die Augusti
Anno ætatis suæ Vicesimo Octavo
Annoque Domini
1658.

² The wooden centering used in forming the last section of the vault had been left in it and had fallen down.

at the top of the stairs leading *into* Henry VII.'s Chapel, there was a memorandum in the Abbey Burial Book, dated 1718, from which it might be inferred that the Queen was buried in the north-east corner of the Chapel. The pavement, which had evidently been disturbed more than once, was removed, and a slight quantity of loose earth being scraped away below the surface, at a few inches the stone covering to a vault was found. A plain brick vault beneath was disclosed of dimensions precisely corresponding with the description given by Dart, as the vault of James I. and his consort. And alone, in the centre of the wide space, lay a long leaden coffin shaped to the form of the body, on which was a plate of brass, with an inscription¹ exactly coinciding with that in the Burial Book of 1718,² and giving at length the style and title of Anne of Denmark.

The wooden case had wholly gone, and there were no remains of velvet cloth or nails. The vault appeared to have been carefully swept out, and all decayed materials removed, perhaps in 1718, when the inscription was copied into the Abbey Register, and the measurement of the vault taken, which Dart has recorded; or even in 1811, when the adjoining Argyll vault was last opened, when the stone (a

¹ Serenissima
Regina Anna
Jacobi, Magnæ Britannię
Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regiæ,
Conjux, Frederici Secundi
Regis Daniæ Norvigicę
Vandalorum et Gothorum, filia,
Christiani IIII soror ac multorum
Principum mater, hic deponitur.
Obiit apud Hampton Court, anno
Salutis MDCXVIII, IIII Nonas
Martis, anno Nata XLIII
Menses IIII
dies XVIII.

² It had probably been opened with a view of interring Lady Mansel, whose burial (in the Ormond vault) immediately precedes the notice of the Queen's coffin.

Yorkshire flag landing¹) which covered the head of the vault may have been fixed ; and when some mortar, which did not look older than fifty years, may have fallen on the coffin-plate. The length of the leaden chest (6 feet 7 inches) was interesting, as fully corroborating the account of the Queen's remarkable stature. There was a small hole in the coffin, attributable to the bursting and corrosion of the lead, which appeared also to have collapsed over the face and body. The form of the knees was indicated.

On examining the wall at the west end of this vault, it was evident that the brickwork had been broken down, and a hole had been made, as if there had been an endeavour to ascertain whether any other vault existed to the westward. The attempt seems to have been soon abandoned, for the aperture was merely six or eight inches in depth. It had been filled in with loose earth. On turning out and examining this, two leg bones and a piece of a skull were found. It was thought, and is indeed possible, that these had been thrown there by accident, either when the Parliamentary² troops occupied the Chapel, or on either of the more recent occasions already noticed. But in the contemplation of this vault, evidently made for two persons, and in which, according to the concurrent testimony of all the printed accounts, the King himself was buried with the Queen, the question arose with additional force what could have become of his remains ; and the thought occurred to more than one of the spectators, that when the Chapel was in the hands of the Parliamentary soldiers, some of those concerned may well have remembered the spot where the last sovereign had been buried with so much pomp, and may have rifled his coffin, leaving the bare vault and the few bones as the relics of the first Stuart King.

With so strange and dark a conclusion as the only alternative, it was determined to push the inquiry in every locality

¹ These Yorkshire stones have only been in use during the present century.

² Chapter III. and Chapter IV.

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which seemed to afford any likelihood of giving a more satisfactory solution. The first attempt was naturally in the neighbourhood of the Queen's grave. A wall was found immediately to the east, which, on being examined, opened into a vault containing several coffins. For a moment it was thought that the King, with possibly some other important personages, was discovered. But it proved to be only the vault of the Sheffield monument.¹ The discovery was a surprise, because the Burial Register spoke of them as deposited in the Ormond vault.² The coffins were those of the first³ Duke and Duchess of Buckinghamshire and three of their children, and also the second and last Duke, at 'whose death, lamented by⁴ Atterbury and Pope, and yet more deeply by his fantastic mother, all the titles of his family became extinct,' the vault was walled up, although 'where the steps were there was room for eight more.'⁵ This 'room' was afterwards appropriated by the Argyll family, as before stated.

Amongst the places of sepulture which it was thought possible that James I. might have selected for himself was the grave which with so much care he had selected for his mother, on the removal of her remains from Peterborough to Westminster; and as there were also some contradictory statements respecting the interments in her vault, it was determined to make an entry by removing the stones on the south side of the southern aisle of the Chapel, among which one was marked WAY. This led to an ample flight of stone

steps trending obliquely under the Queen of Scots' tomb. Immediately at the foot of these steps appeared a large vault of brick 12½ ft. long, 7 ft. wide, and 6 ft. high. A startling, it may almost be said an

¹ This vault (from the absence of an escape air-pipe through the covering) was the only one in which the atmosphere was impure.

² Perhaps the Duke was at first buried in the Ormond vault, and afterwards removed to this one.

³ See Chapter IV.

⁴ See Ibid.

⁵ Burial Register.

awful, scene presented itself. A vast pile of leaden coffins rose from the floor; some of full stature, the larger number varying in form from that of the full-grown child to the merest infant, confusedly heaped upon the others, whilst several urns of various shapes were tossed about in irregular positions throughout the vault.

The detailed account of this famous sepulchre given by Crull and Dart at once facilitated the investigation of this chaos of royal mortality. This description, whilst needing correction in two or three points, was, on the whole, substantiated.

The first distinct object that arrested the attention was a coffin in the north-west corner, roughly moulded according to the human form and face. It could not be doubted to be that of¹ Henry Frederick Prince of Wales. The ^{Henry Prince of Wales.} lead of the head was shaped into rude features, the legs and arms indicated, even to the forms of the fingers and toes. On the breast was soldered a leaden case evidently containing the heart, and below were his initials, with the Prince of Wales's feathers, and the date of his death (1612). In spite of the grim² and deformed aspect, occasioned by the irregular collapsing of the lead, there was a life-like appearance which seemed like an endeavour to recall the lamented heir of so much hope.

Next, along the north wall, were two coffins, much compressed and distorted by the superincumbent weight of four or five lesser coffins heaped upon them. According to Crull's account, the upper one of these two was that of Mary Queen of Scots, the lower that of Arabella Stuart. But ^{Arabella Stuart.} subsequent investigation led to the reversal of this conclusion. No plate could be found on either. But the upper one was much broken, and the bones, especially the skull, turned on one side, were distinctly visible, — thus agreeing with Crull's account of the coffin of Arabella Stuart.

¹ See Chapter III. p. 217.

² A cast was taken and is preserved.

The lower one was saturated with pitch, and was deeply compressed by the weight above, but the lead had not given way. It was of a more solid and stately character, and was shaped to meet the form of the body like another presently to be noticed, which would exactly agree with the age and rank of Mary Stuart. The difficulty of removing the whole weight of the chest would of itself have proved a bar to any closer examination. But, in fact, it was felt not to be needed for any purpose of historical verification, and the presence of the fatal coffin which had received the headless corpse at Fotheringay was sufficiently affecting, without endeavouring to penetrate farther into its mournful contents.¹ It cannot be questioned that this, and this alone, must be the coffin of the Queen of Scots. Its position by the north wall, close to Henry Prince of Wales, who must have been laid here a few months after her removal hither from Peterborough; its peculiar form; its suitableness in age and situation, — were decisive as to the fact. On the top of this must have been laid Arabella Stuart in her frail and ill-constructed receptacle. And thus for many years, those three alone (with the exception of Charles I.'s two infant children²) occupied the vault. Then came the numerous funerals immediately after the Restoration. Henry of Oatlands³ lies underneath Henry Prince of Wales. There is no plate, but the smaller size of the coffin, and its situation, coincide with the printed description. It may be conjectured that whilst Mary lies in her original position, Henry Prince of Wales must have lain in the centre of the vault by her side, and removed to his present position when the introduction of the two larger coffins now occupying the centre necessitated his removal farther north. Of these two larger coffins, the printed account identified the lower one as that

¹ See Chapter III. p. 213.

² See Chapter III. p. 219. These could not be identified.

³ For Henry of Oatlands, Mary of Orange, Elizabeth of Bohemia, and Prince Rupert, see Chapter III. p. 225-6.

of Mary Princess of Orange; the plate affixed to the upper one proved it to contain Prince Rupert, whose exact place in the Chapel had been hitherto unknown. Mary of Orange.

Next to them, against the south wall, were again two large coffins, of which the lower one, in like manner by Anne Hyde. the printed account, was ascertained to be that of

Anne Hyde, James II.'s first wife, and that above was recognised by the plate, still affixed, to be that of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia.¹ Her brother Henry in his last hours Elizabeth of Bohemia. had cried out, 'Where is my dear sister?' and she

had vainly endeavoured, disguised as a page, to force herself into his presence. Fifty eventful years passed away, and she was laid within a few feet of him in this — their last home.

Spread over the surface of these more solid structures lay the small coffins, often hardly more than cases, of the numerous progeny of that unhappy family, doomed, as The children of James II., this gloomy chamber impressed on all who saw it, with a more than ordinary doom — infant after infant fading away which might else have preserved the race — first, the ten² children of James II., including one whose existence was unknown before — 'James Darnley, natural son' —³ and then eighteen children of Queen and of Anne. Anne; of whom one alone required the receptacle of a full-grown child, — William Duke of Gloucester. His coffin lay on that of Elizabeth of Bohemia, and had to be raised in order to read the plate containing her name.

¹ In Crull's account, Elizabeth of Bohemia is described as resting on Mary (or, as he by a slip calls her, Elizabeth) of Orange. This, perhaps, was her original position, and she may have been subsequently placed upon Anne Hyde's coffin, in order to make room for her son Rupert.

² See Chapter III. p. 228.

³ Mr. Doyne Bell suggests to me that this child was the son of Catherine Sedley, inasmuch as the same name of Darnley was granted by letters patent of James II. to her daughter Catherine, afterwards Duchess of Buckinghamshire, after the date of the death of James Darnley.

Of these, most of the plates had been preserved, and (with the two exceptions of those of James Darnley¹ and of Prince Rupert²) were all identical with those mentioned in Crull. The rest had either perished, or, as is not improbable, been detached by the workmen at the reopenings of the vault at each successive interment.

It was impossible to view this wreck and ruin of the Stuart dynasty without a wish, if possible, to restore something like order and decency amongst the relics of so much departed greatness. The confusion, which, at first sight, gave the impression of wanton havoc and neglect, had been doubtless produced chiefly by the pressure of superincumbent weight, which could not have been anticipated by those who made the arrangement, when the remains of the younger generations were accumulated beyond all expectation on the remains of their progenitors. In the absence of directions from any superior authority, a scruple was felt against any endeavour

¹ COFFIN-PLATE OF JAMES DARNLEY.

James Darnley
natural sonn to King James y^e second.
Departed this life the 22 of aprill
1685
Aged aBout eight Mounths.

² PRINCE RUPERT'S INSCRIPTION.

Depositum
Illustr: Principis Ruperti, Comitis Palatini Rheni,
Ducis Bavariz et Cumbriæ, Comitæ Holdernessiz,
totius Angliæ Vice-Admiralli,
Regalis Castri Windesoriensis Constabularii et Gubernatoris,
Nobilissimi Ordinis Periscelidis Equitis,
Et Majestati Regiæ a Sanctioribus Conciliis,
Filii tertio-geniti Ser^m Principis Frederici Regis Bohemiæ, etc.
Per Ser^m Principiss: Elizabetham, Filiam unicam Jacobi,
Sororem Caroli Primi, et amitam Caroli ejus nominis secundi,
Magnæ Britanniz, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regum.
Nati Pragæ, Bohemiæ Metrop. 17 Decembr. A^o MDCXIX^o.
Denati Londini XXIX Novembr: MDCLXXXII^o.
Ætatis suæ LXIII.

to remove these little waifs and strays of royalty from the solemn resting-place where they had been gathered round their famous and unfortunate ancestress. But as far as could be they were cleared from the larger coffins, and placed in the small open space at the foot of the steps.

This vault opened on the west into a much narrower vault, under the monument¹ of Lady Margaret Lennox, through a wall of nearly 3 feet in thickness by a hole which is about 3 feet above the floor, and about 2 feet ^{The Lennox} square. A pile of three or four of the small ^{vault} chests of James II.'s children obstructed the entrance, but within the vault there appeared to be three coffins one above the other. The two lower would doubtless be those of the Countess and her son Charles, Earl of Lennox, the father of Arabella Stuart. The upper coffin was that of Esme Stuart, Duke of Richmond, whose name, with the date 1624,² was just traceable on the decayed plate. On the south side of this vault there was seen to have been an opening cut, and afterwards filled up with brickwork. This probably was the hole through which, before 1683, in Keepe's time, the skeleton and dry shrivelled skin of Charles Lennox, in his shaken and decayed coffin, was visible.

It is remarkable that the position of the vault is not conformable with the tomb above, the head of the vault being askew two or three feet to the south. This is evidently done to effect a descent at the head, which could not other-

¹ See Chapter III. p. 213. It may be observed that the monument must have been erected upon the accession of James to the English throne, as he is called in the epitaph on the tomb 'King James VI.'

² He was the grandnephew of Lady Margaret Lennox, a second brother of Ludovic, who lies in the Richmond Chapel, and whom he succeeded in his title, in 1623-24. He died at Kirby, on February 14, in the following year (1624), from the spotted ague, and was 'honourably buried at Westminster.' There were 1000 mourners at the funeral; the effigy was drawn by six horses. The pomp was equal to that of the obsequies of Anne of Denmark. 'The Lord Keeper' (Williams) preached the sermon.—*State Papers, Dom.* James I. vol. clxiii. pp. 320, 323, 327. Communicated by Mr. Doyne Bell.

wise have been made, because the foundation of the detached pier at the west end of the chapel would have barred that entrance; and no doubt if the pavement were opened beyond the inclined vault, the proper access would be discovered.

Interesting as these two vaults were in themselves, the search for King James I. was yet baffled. The statements of Dart and Crull still pointed to his burial in the north aisle. The vault afterwards appropriated by General Monk,¹ at the west entrance of that aisle, had been already examined, without discovering any trace of royal personages. But it was suggested that there was every reason for exploring the space at the east end of the aisle between the tombs of Queen Elizabeth and those of the King's own infant daughters. This space had accordingly been examined at the first commencement of the excavations, but proved to be quite vacant. There was not the slightest appearance of vault or grave. The excavations, however, had almost laid bare the wall immediately at the eastern end of the monument of Elizabeth, and through a small aperture a view was obtained into a low narrow vault immediately beneath her tomb. It was instantly evident that it enclosed two coffins, and two only, and it could not be doubted that these² contained Elizabeth and her sister Mary. The upper one, larger, and more distinctly shaped in the form of the body, like that of Mary Queen of Scots, rested on the other.

There was no disorder or decay, except that the centering wood had fallen over the head of Elizabeth's coffin, and that the wood case had crumbled away at the sides, and had drawn away part of the decaying lid. No coffin-plate could be discovered, but fortunately the dim light fell on a fragment of the lid slightly carved. This led to a further search, and the original inscription was

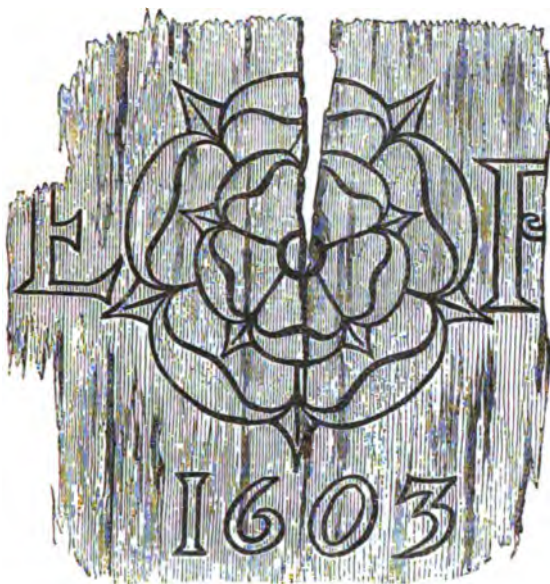
Empty
vaults.

Vault of
Queen
Elizabeth.

¹ See Appendix to Chapter IV.

² See Chapter III. p. 214.

discovered. There was the Tudor Badge, a full double rose,¹ deeply but simply incised in outline on the middle of the cover, — on each side the august initials E R, and below, the memorable date 1603. The coffin-lid had been further decorated with narrow moulded panelling. The coffin-case



WOODEN CASE OF LEADEN COFFIN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

was of inch elm ; but the ornamental lid containing the inscription and panelling was of fine oak, half an inch thick, laid on the inch elm cover. The whole was covered with red silk velvet, of which much remained attached to the wood ; and it had covered not only the sides and ends, but

¹ The prominence of this double rose on the Queen's coffin is illustrated by one of the Epitaphs given in Nichols's *Progresses*, p. 251 : —

' Here in this earthen pit lie withered,
Which grew on high the *white rose* and the *red*.'

also the ornamented oak cover, as though the bare wood had not been thought rich enough without the velvet.

The sight of this secluded and narrow tomb, thus compressing in the closest grasp the two Tudor sisters, 'partners of the same throne and grave, sleeping in the hope of resurrection,' — the solemn majesty of the great Queen thus reposing, as can hardly be doubted, by her own desire, on her

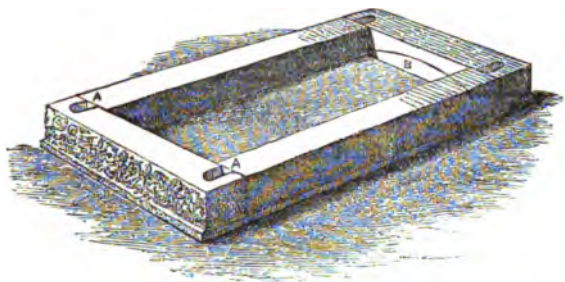


TORREGIANO'S ALTAR, FORMERLY AT THE HEAD OF HENRY VII.'S
TOMB, UNDER WHICH EDWARD VI. WAS BURIED.
FROM AN ENGRAVING IN SANDFORD'S GENEALOGICAL HISTORY.

sister's coffin, — was the more impressive from the contrast of its quiet calm with the confused and multitudinous decay of the Stuart vault, and of the fulness of its tragic interest with the vacancy of the deserted spaces which had been hitherto explored in the other parts of the Chapel. The vault was immediately closed again.

It was now evident that the printed accounts of James's interment were entirely at fault. The whole north side of the Chapel, where they with one accord represented him to have been buried, had been explored in vain; and it remained only to search the spots in the centre and south side which offered the chief probability of success.

The first of these spots examined was the space between the spot known to have been occupied by the grave of King Edward VI. and that of George II. and his Queen. This, however, was unoccupied, and besides was barely sufficient



MARBLE FRAGMENT OF TORREGIANO'S ALTAR.

to form even a small vault. But its exploration led to the knowledge of the exact position of these two graves.¹

The next approach was made to the space under the dais, west of Henry VII.'s monument, where Edward VI.'s grave had been already in 1866 indicated² on the pavement. A shallow vault immediately appeared, ^{Vault of Edward VI.} containing one leaden coffin only, rent and deformed as well as wasted by long corrosion, and perhaps injured by

¹ In this and the previous operation under the marble floor were discovered two transverse tie-bars of iron bearing upon blocks of stone resting on the arch over George II.'s grave. From that at the head there was a vertical suspension-bar passing through the arch into the vault. Its purpose may perhaps have been to support a canopy or ceiling over the sarcophagus beneath.

² See Chapter III. p. 208.

having been examined before. The wooden case had been in part cleared away and the pavement had evidently been at some previous time wholly or partially removed. Over the coffin were a series of Kentish rag-stones, which had been steps, — one or more shaped with octagon angle ends, and the fronts of them bordered with a smooth polished surface surrounding a frosted area of a light grey colour within the border. These were probably the original steps of the dais, and must have been placed in this position at the time when, in 1641, the Puritans destroyed the monumental altar under which Edward VI. was buried. This conclusion

was greatly strengthened by the interesting discovery of Torregiano's frieze that the extreme piece of the covering at the foot was a frieze of white marble 3 feet 8 inches long, 7 inches high, and 6 inches thick — elaborately carved along the front and each end, while the back was wrought to



CARVING OF TORREGIANO'S ALTAR.

form the line of a segmental vaulted ceiling; and the ends pierced to receive the points of columns. These features at once marked it as part of the marble frieze of Torregiano's work for this 'matchless altar,' as it was deemed at the time. The carving is of the best style of the early Renaissance period, and is unquestionably Italian work. It combines alternations of heraldic badges, the Tudor roses and the lilies¹ of France, placed between scrollage of various flowers. It still retained two iron cramps, which were used to join a fracture occasioned by the defectiveness of the marble, and it

¹ A poem of this date — the early years of Henry VIII. — was found between the leaves of the account-book of the kitchener of the convent, turning chiefly on a comparison of the roses of England and lilies of France.

also exhibited the remains of another iron cramp, which was used to connect the marble with the entire fabric. Deep stains of iron at the ends of the marble had been left by an overlying bar (probably a part of the ancient structure), which was placed on the carved¹ surface, seemingly to strengthen the broken parts.

Underneath these fragments, lying across the lower part of the coffin, was discovered, curiously rolled up, but loose and unsoldered, the leaden coffin-plate. It was so corroded that, until closely inspected in a full light, no letter or inscription was discernible. With some difficulty, however, every letter of this interesting and hitherto unknown inscription was read. The letters, all capitals of equal size, one by one were deciphered, and gave to the world, for the first time, the epitaph on the youthful King, in some points unique amongst the funeral inscriptions of English sovereigns.² On the coffin of the first completely Protestant King, immediately following the Royal titles, was the full and unabated style conferred by the English Reformation — 'On earth under Christ of the Church of England and Ireland Supreme Head.'³ Such an inscription marks the moment when the words must have been inserted — in that short interval of nine days, whilst the body still lay at

Discovery of
the coffin-
plate with
inscription.

¹ When the vault was finally closed, it was determined to remove and properly relay the whole covering, by placing a corbel plate of three-inch Yorkshire stone on either side, the middle ends of which were supported by laying the iron tie-bar before alluded to across the grave. By this means the effective opening of the width of the grave was reduced, and the short stones of the old covering obtained a good support at their ends. And thus the ancient iron tie-bar of the monument was finally utilised.

² Although the plate had originally been perfectly flat, it was now rolled up and forcibly contracted by the corrosion of the outer surface, which has expanded, while the inner surface, being much less corroded, has been contracted, and thereby the flat plate has assumed the appearance of a disproportioned cushion.

³ On the coffin of his father at Windsor no inscription exists. By the time that his sisters mounted the throne, the title was slightly altered.

Greenwich, and whilst Lady Jane Grey still upheld the hopes of the Protestant party. It proceeds to record, as with a deep pathetic earnestness, the time of his loss — not merely the year, and month, and day — but ‘8 o’clock, in the evening,’ that memorable evening, of the sixth of July, when the cause of the Reformation seemed to flicker and die away with the life of the youthful Prince.¹

The discovery of this record of the Royal Supremacy — probably the most emphatic and solemn that exists — would have been striking at any time. At the present moment, when the foundation of this great doctrine of the Reformed Churches is being sifted to its depths, it seemed to gather up in itself all the significance that could be given. It was a question whether this, with the accompanying relic of the marble frieze, should be returned to the dark vault whence they had thus unexpectedly emerged, or placed in some more accessible situation. It was determined that the frieze, as a work of art, which had only by accident been concealed from view, should be placed as nearly as possible in its original position; but that the inscription² should be restored to the royal coffin, on which it had been laid in that agony of

¹ It may be noted here that when the stone covering was removed at the back of the coffin, the skull of the King became visible. The cerecloth had fallen away, and showed that no hair was attached to the skull. — Compare the account of his last illness in Froude, vol. v. p. 512. ‘Eruptions came out over his skin, *and his hair fell off.*’

² The inscription is copied word for word and line for line on the pavement above the King’s grave as follows: —

Edwardus Sextus Dei gratia Angliæ Fran-
ciæ et Hiberniæ Rex Fidei Defensor et in
terra sub Christo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et
Hiberniæ Supremum Caput migravit ex hac
vita sexto die Julii vesperi ad horam
octavam anno domini MDLIII. et
regni sui septimo ætatis suæ decimo
sexto.

The plate itself has been hardened by the application of a solution of shellac, which has fixed the loose coating of corrosion, and will prevent any increase.



LEADEN PLATE OF EDWARD VI.'S COFFIN.

English history, there to rest as in the most secure depository of so sacred a trust.

The vault of King Edward VI. was too narrow ever to have admitted of another coffin. It is only $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and its floor but a few feet below the pavement. It is arched with two rings of half brick. Immediately on its north side the ground had never been disturbed; and on the south side, although a brick vault was found, it was empty, and seems never to have been used.

It was now suggested that, as Anne of Denmark was alone in the vault in the north apsidal compartment, or Sheffield Chapel, King James might have been placed in the southern or dexter compartment of the Montpensier Chapel; and as the sunken and irregular state of the pavement there showed that it had been much disturbed, the ground was probed. There was no vault, but an earthen grave soon disclosed itself, in which, at about two feet below the surface, a leaden coffin was reached. The wooden lid was almost reduced to a mere film; and from the weight of the earth above, the leaden lid had given way all round the soldered edges of the coffin, and was lying close on the flattened skeleton within. At the foot, and nearer the surface, there was a large cylindrical urn, indicating that the body had been embalmed. The position of the urn, which was lying on its side, would lead to the suspicion that both it and the coffin had been removed before, especially as the floor above was so irregular and ill formed.

Grave of an
unknown
person.

The skeleton which was thus discovered was that of a tall man, 6 feet high, the femoral bone being two feet long, and the tibia $15\frac{3}{4}$ in. The head was well formed but not large. The teeth were fresh and bright, and were those of a person under middle age. There was no hair visible. The larger ligatures of the body were still traceable. At the bottom of the coffin was a tray of wood about three inches deep, which, it was conjectured, may have been used to embalm the body. The sides of the wooden coffin were still in place; here and

there the silken covering adhering to the wood, and to the bones, as well as pieces of the metal side-plates, with two iron handles of the coffin, and several brass nails were found in the decaying wood. All such detached pieces were, after examination, placed in a deal box and replaced on the coffin. But the most minute search failed to discover any insignia in the dust; and not only was there no plate discovered, but no indication of any such having been affixed. The leaden lid of the coffin was again placed over the skeleton; the urn was restored to its former position; and the earth carefully filled in.

It was for a moment apprehended that in these remains the body of James I. might have been identified. But two circumstances were fatal to this supposition. First, the skeleton, as has been said, was that of a tall man; whereas James was rather below than above the middle stature. Secondly, the Wardrobe Accounts of his funeral, above quoted, contain the expenses of opening a vault, whereas this body was buried in a mere earthen grave. Another alternative, which amounted very nearly to certainty, was the suggestion that these remains belonged to General Charles Worsley, the only remarkable man recorded to have been buried in the Chapel under the Protectorate who was not disinterred after the Restoration. The appearance of the body agrees, on the whole, with the description and portrait of Worsley. He was in high favour with Cromwell, and was the officer to whom, when the mace of the House of Commons was taken away, 'that bauble' was committed. He died at the early age of thirty-five, in St. James's Palace (where two of his children were buried in the Chapel Royal), on June 12, 1656.

He was interred the day following in Westminster Abbey, in King Henry VII.'s Chapel, near to the grave of Sir William Constable, his interment taking place in the evening at nine o'clock, and being conducted with much pomp. Heath, in his 'Chronicle' (p. 381), alluding to his early death, says, 'Worsley died before he could be good in his

office, and was buried with the dirges of bell, book, and candle, and the peale of musquets, in no less a repository than Henry VII.'s Chapel, as became a Prince of the modern erection, and Oliver's great and rising favourite.'

It has been recorded, that after the interment of General Worsley had taken place, Mr. Roger Kenyon, M.P. for Clitheroe, and Clerk of the Peace for the County, himself a zealous royalist, the brother-in-law of the deceased and one of the mourners, returned secretly to the Abbey, and wrote upon the stone the words, *WHERE NEVER WORSE LAY*, which indignantly being reported to Cromwell, so offended him that he offered a reward for the discovery of the writer.¹

Amongst the heirlooms of the family at Platt, in Lancashire, is a portrait of this its most celebrated member. It represents a handsome man, with long flowing dark hair. This, in all probability, was the figure, whose gaunt bones were thus laid bare in his almost royal grave, under the stones which had received the obnoxious inscription of his Royalist relative. The general appearance of the body, its apparent youth, and its comely stature, agree with the portrait. The loss of the hair might perhaps be explained, if we knew the nature of the illness which caused his death. The embalment would agree with his high rank; whilst the rapidity of the funeral, succeeding to his decease within a single day, would account for the interment of so distinguished a personage in an earthen grave. The probable date of the burial place—as if two centuries old—suits with the period of his death. It is a singular coincidence that the one member of Cromwell's court who still rests amongst the Kings is the one of whom an enthusiastic and learned Nonconformist of our day has said, that 'no one appeared so fit as he to succeed to the Protectorate, and if the Commonwealth was to have been preserved, his life would have been prolonged for its preservation.'²

With this interesting, though as far as the particular object

¹ *History of Birch Chapel*, by the Rev. J. Booker, pp. 48, 49; to whom I have to express my obligations for his kindness in aiding me to ascertain all that could be known of General Worsley.

² Dr. Halley's *Nonconformity of Lancashire*, vol. ii. p. 37.

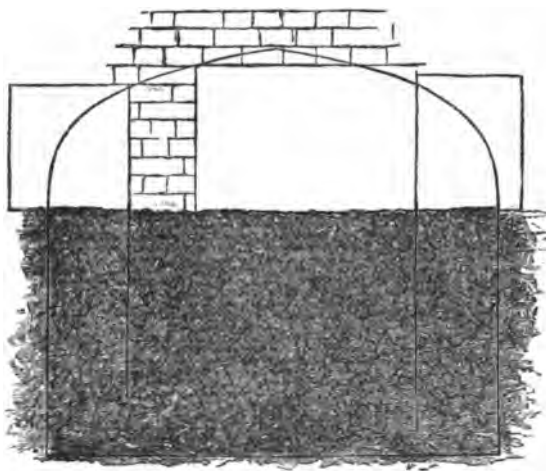
of the search was concerned, futile attempt, which embraced also the adjacent area — found to be entirely vacant — between Henry VII.'s tomb and the Richmond Chapel, the examination ceased.

Every conceivable space in the Chapel had now been explored, except the actual vault of Henry VII. himself. To this the Abbey Register had from the first pointed; and it may seem strange that this hint had not been followed up before. But the apparent improbability of such a place for the interment of the first Stuart King; the positive contradiction of the printed accounts of Keepe, Crull, and Dart; the absence of any such indications in the Heralds' Office; the interment of the Queen in the spot to which these authorities pointed — thus, as it seemed, furnishing a guarantee for their correctness; the aspect of the stones at the foot of the tomb of Henry VII. as if always unbroken; the difficulty of supposing that an entrance could have been forced through the passage at its head, already occupied by the coffin of Edward VI.; it may be added, the reluctance, except under the extremest necessity, of penetrating into the sacred resting-place of the august founder of the Chapel — had precluded an attempt on this vault, until every other resource had been exhausted. That necessity had now come; and it was determined as a last resort to ascertain whether any entrance could be found. At the east end the previous examination of the Ormond vault had shown that no access could be obtained from below, and the undisturbed appearance of the stones at the foot of the tomb, as just observed, indicated the same from above. On the north and south the wall of the enclosure was found impenetrable. There remained, therefore, only the chance from the already encumbered approach on the west.

In that narrow space, accordingly, the excavation was begun. On opening the marble pavement, the ground beneath was found very loose, and pieces of brick amongst it. Soon under the step and enclosure, a corbel was discovered, immediately under the panelled

vault of
Henry VII.

curb, evidently to form an opening beneath; and onward to the east the earth was cleared, until the excavators reached a large stone, like a wall, surmounted and joined on the north side with smaller stones, and brickwork over all. This was evidently an entrance. The brickwork and the smaller stones on the top were gradually removed, and then the apex of the vertical end of a flat-pointed arch of firestone became exposed. It was at once evident that the vault¹ of Edward VI. was

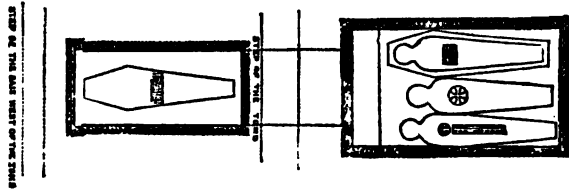


WEST END. HENRY VII.'S VAULT.

only the continuation westward of the passage into the entrance of the Tudor vault, and that this entrance was now in view. It was with a feeling of breathless anxiety amounting to solemn awe, which caused the humblest of the workmen

¹ It may be observed that the regular approach to the vault, though afterwards disturbed by the grave of Edward VI., may have been intended to have given a more public and solemn access, especially at the time when the translation of the body of Henry VI. was still meditated. See Chapter III.

employed to whisper with bated breath, as the small opening at the apex of the arch admitted the first glimpse into the mysterious secret which had hitherto eluded this long research. Deep within the arched vault were dimly seen three coffins lying side by side—two of them dark and gray with age, the third somewhat brighter and newer, and of these, on the introduction of a light into the aperture, the two older appeared to be leaden, one bearing an inscription, and the third, surrounded by a case of wood, bearing also an inscription plate. The mouth of the cavern was closed, as has been

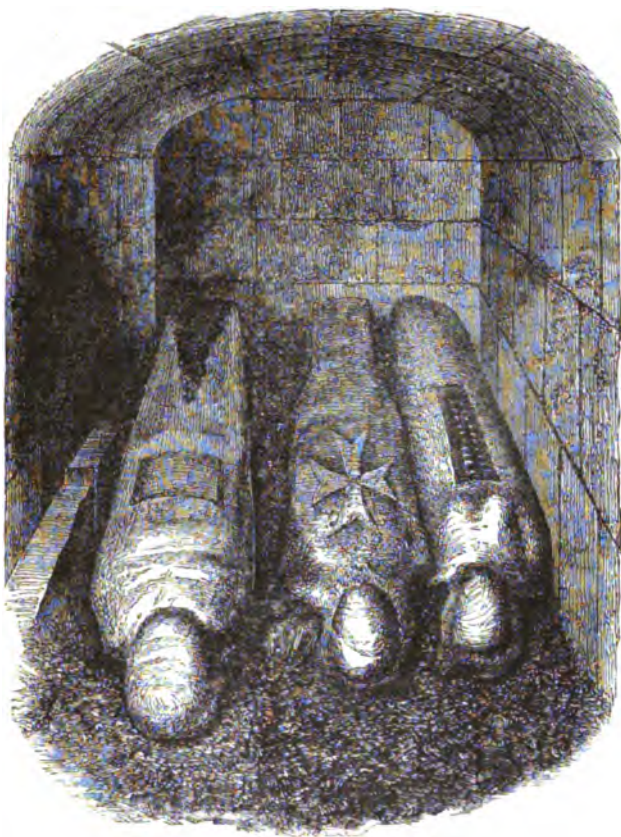


PLAN OF VAULTS OF
EDWARD VI. AND HENRY VII.

already intimated, by a huge stone, which, as in Jewish sepulchres, had been rolled against the entrance. Above this was a small mass of brickwork (which just filled a space of about twelve inches by nine inches, near the top of the arch). This was removed, and displayed an aperture (technically a 'man-hole') which had been the means of egress for whoever having (as in patriarchal days) assisted in placing the large stone at the mouth of the sepulchre, and arranged all within, came out, and finally, at the last interment, closed up the small point of exit.

Through this aperture the vault was entered, and the detailed examination of the vault at once commenced. The third coffin lying on the northern side was immediately found to be that of King James I., as indicated beyond question in the long inscription

Discovery of
the coffin of
James I.



THE COFFINS OF JAMES I., ELIZABETH OF YORK, AND HENRY VII.,
AS SEEN ON THE OPENING OF THE VAULT IN 1869.

FROM A DRAWING BY GEORGE SCHARF, ESQ.

engraved on a copper plate soldered to the lead coffin.¹ It was surrounded with the remains of a wooden case. This case had been made out of two logs of solid timber, which had been scooped out to receive the shape of the leaden coffin. The two other coffins were as indisputably those of Henry VII. and his Queen. The centre coffin doubtless was that of Elizabeth of York, although with no inscription to mark it; the larger one on the south or dexter side was (as might be expected) that of her royal husband, Henry VII., and bore his name. These two coffins were bare lead, the wooden casing, even that underneath, being wholly removed. It became evident, on considering the narrowness of the entrance as well as that of the vault, that originally the first two coffins had occupied a position on either side of the central line, but when the vault was invaded to place the third coffin, the first two were stripped



¹ If ever there had been a plate of gilt copper, with inscription, as given by Dart, vol. i. p. 167, it must have been taken away when the vault was closed in 1625. The inscription on the coffin is as follows:—

Depositum
Augustissimi
Principis Jacobi Primi, Magnæ Britanniae
Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis, qui natus apud Scotos xliii. Cal. Jul. An^o
Salutis
MDLXII. piissime
apud Anglos occubuit v. Cal. Ap.
An^o a Christo nato MDCXXV.
Vixit an. LVIII. men. ix. dies viii.
Regnavit apud
{ Scotos a. LVII. m. vii. dies xxix.
{ Anglos, an. xxii. d. iii.

The inscription in Dart runs thus:—

Depositum
Invictissimi Jacobi Primi, Magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ
Regis, qui rerum apud Scotos annos 59, menses 3, dies 12, et apud
Anglos annos 22 et dies 3, pacifice et feliciter potitus, tandem in Dom-
ino obdormivit 27 die Martii, anno a Christo nato, 1625, æt. vero
sue 60.

of their cases and coverings, the coffin of Henry VII. removed more to the south wall, and that of his Queen then superposed to give convenient entry to the enormous bulk of the third coffin. The Queen's was then replaced on the floor between them in the little space left.

The leaden coffins of all three Sovereigns, which were all in good condition, were slightly shaped to the head and shoulders and straight downward.

Coffin of Elizabeth of York. The Queen's was somewhat mis-

shapen at the top, — perhaps from having been more frequently removed.¹ It

had on it the mark of the soldering of a Maltese Cross, but no other vestige remained. That of the King was indicated by a short inscription on a plate of lead soldered, about

Coffin of Henry VII. 24 inches long and 4 inches wide, with raised letters of

the period upon it preceded by a broad capital H of the early type. The inscription was placed the lengthway of the coffin, and was read from west to east.² At the west end of the coffin-lid was painted a circular Maltese Cross, as though to precede the inscription. The pall of silk, marked by a white cross, which is recorded to have covered the length of Henry VII.'s coffin, must, with every other like object of value, have been stripped off and taken away when the vault was opened to admit the Stuart King. A certain John Ware, and one whose initials were E. C., must have been at least privy to this rifling and violence, for they have quaintly scratched their names,³ with the date 1625 under each. These marks



¹ It had been moved at least once from the side chapel to this vault (see Chapter III. p. 199); and probably again, as noticed above.

² Hic est Henricus, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ ac Dominus Hiberniæ, hujus nominis septimus, qui obiit 21. die Aprilis, anno regni sui 21. et incarnationis dominicæ MVIX.

³ Another trace of the workmen, curiously significant as found in

clearly show that here in 1625 King James was interred, and that he has remained unmoved ever since.

It is remarkable that, although the bodies must have been embalmed, no urns were in the vault, although they are known to have been buried with due solemnity soon after death. Perhaps their place may have been in Monk's Vault, where Dart describes himself to have seen the urn of Anne of Denmark, and where, on the last entrance in 1867, several ancient urns were discovered.

The vault is partly under the floor of the west end of the enclosure of the tomb, and partly under the tomb itself; so that the western end of the arch is nearly coincident with the inside of the Purbeck marble curb above, and the eastern end about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet west of the eastern extremity of the tomb above. Thus the vault is not quite conformable with the tomb, but is so placed that the western face of it abuts against the thick bounding wall which crosses the chancel.¹ This want of conformity with the direction of the tomb doubtless arose from the circumstance that the vault was excavated before the tomb above was designed. The vault is beautifully formed of large blocks of firestone. It is 8 feet 10 inches long, 5 feet wide, and, from floor to apex, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The arch is of a fine four-centred Tudor form; and the floor, which is stone, is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the

searching for the grave of the Royal author of the 'Counterblast against Tobacco,' was the fragment of a tobacco-pipe thrown out amongst the earth in effecting the entrance. The gravedigger may have felt that he could smoke in peace, now that the great enemy of the Indian weed was gone.

¹ In speaking of the workmanship of Henry VII.'s tomb, it may be worth recording that, in 1857, the Abbey mason found a fragment of printed paper (perhaps from Caxton's printing press) crumpled up in one of the octagonal piers at the angle of the tomb, almost out of reach, headed with two rude woodcuts of S. Anne of Tottenham, and S. George, and underneath the emblems of the Passion, with an indulgence from 'Pope Innocent to all who devoutly say five paternosters and five aves in honour of the Five Wounds,' and ending with an invocation of S. George.

floor of the tomb. The masonry is very neatly wrought and truly placed. The stone exhibited hardly the least sign of decay, and, from its absorptive and porous nature, there was no appearance of dew-drops on the ceiling.¹ To this cause may be attributed the high preservation of the lead of the coffins of these three sovereigns ; whereas the lead of Edward VI.'s coffin (which was under a marble ceiling always dropping water by condensation on its surface) had been fearfully contorted and almost riven asunder by perpetual corrosion. This was the more remarkable from the extreme damp of the vault, as well as the atmosphere within, which struck a deadly chill when the vault was first opened : whereas on the same firestone in the cloisters the outer atmosphere when moist tells with such force that the floor beneath is quite spotted with particles of stone detached thereby from the groining above.²

The final discovery of this place of interment curiously confirmed the accuracy of the Abbey Register, whose one brief notice was the sole written indication of the fact, in contradiction to all the printed accounts, and in the silence of all the official accounts. But its main interest arose from the insight which it gave into the deep historical instinct which prompted the founder of the Stuart Dynasty, Scotsman and almost foreigner as he was, to ingraft his family and fate on that of the ancient English stock through which he derived his title to the Crown. Apart from his immediate and glorious predecessor — apart from his mother, then lying in her almost empty vault with his eldest son — apart from

¹ Such drops are frequently found on brick arches, and always on the ceilings of vaults covered with compact stone or marble.

² In removing the effigies of Henry VII. and his Queen from the structure of their tomb for the purpose of cleaning, there were found in the hollow space beneath some gilt ornaments, evidently belonging to the gilt crown which once encircled the head of the bronze effigy of the Queen, and also the name of an Italian workman, apparently *Fr. Medolo*, which must have been scratched on the wall at the time that Torregiano erected it.

his two beloved infant daughters—apart from his Queen, who lies alone in her ample vault as if waiting for her husband to fill the vacant space—the first Stuart King who united England and Scotland was laid in the venerable cavern, for such in effect it is, which contained the remains of the first Tudor King who, with his Queen, had united the two contending factions of English mediæval history.¹ The very difficulty of forcing the entrance, the temporary displacement of Edward VI. and of Elizabeth of York, the sanctity of the spot, and the means taken almost as with religious vigilance to guard against further intrusion—show the strength of the determination which carried the first King of Great Britain into the tomb of the last of the Mediæval Kings, which laid the heir of the Celtic traditions of Scotland by the side of the heir of the Celtic traditions of Wales, the Solomon, as he deemed himself, of his own age, by the side of him whom a wiser than either had already called the Solomon of England.² It is³ possible also that the obscurity which has hitherto rested on the place of James's interment may have been occasioned by the reluctance of the English sentiment to admit or proclaim the fact that the sacred resting-place of the Father of the Tudor race had been

¹ The following extract from Bishop Turner's sermon at the coronation of James II., April 23, 1685, shows how long this sentiment of the union of the rival houses lasted:—'Think how much Royal dust and ashes is laid up in yonder chapel. There the Houses of York and Lancaster rest quietly under one roof. There does Queen Mary and her sister, Queen Elizabeth, lie close together; their ashes do not part. In the story of Polynices and Eteocles, two brothers, rivals for a crown, we are told their smoke divided into two pyramids as it ascended from one funeral pile; but here the dusts do as kindly mingle, as all the old piques and aversions are soundly asleep with them. And so shall we be ere long—most of us in a meaner lodging, but all of us in the dust of death.' (P. 28.)

² Bacon's *Henry VII.*, iii. 406.

³ For the funeral of Henry VII. see Chapter III. p. 200, and of James I. *ibid.* p. 218.

invaded by one who was still regarded as a stranger and an alien.¹

While the vault was yet open there happened to be a meeting of high dignitaries of Church and State, assembled on a Royal Commission in the Jerusalem Chamber, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It seemed but fitting that the first visitor to the tomb of the Royal Scot should have been a Primate from beyond the Tweed, and it was with a profound interest that the first Scotsman who had ever reached the highest office in the English Church bent over the grave of the first Scotsman who had mounted the throne of the English State. He was followed by the Earl of Stanhope (who, as President of the Society of Antiquaries, had expressed from the first lively interest in these excavations), the Earl of Carnarvon, and the Bishops of St. David's, Oxford, Gloucester, and Chester. The Canons in residence (Canons Jennings, Nepean, and Conway) were also present; as was the Architect of the Abbey, Mr. G. Gilbert Scott, who minutely inspected the whole locality.²

Such was the close of an inquiry which, after having disclosed so many curious secrets, ended in a result almost as interesting as that which attended the discovery of the vault of Charles I. at Windsor. It was, in fact, observed as a striking parallel, that over the graves of each of the first Stuart kings a similar mystery had hung; and that each was at last found in the chosen resting-place of the first Tudor kings — James I. with Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York; Charles I.

¹ Dean Williams only refers generally to 'the sepulchre of the kings erected by Henry VII., his great-grandfather, just as this other Solomon was in the city of David his father.' (*Serm.* p. 75.) See also Chapter IV.

² Throughout I derived considerable aid from the suggestions of Mr. Froude, the historian; Mr. Doyne Bell, of the Privy Purse Office, Buckingham Palace; and Mr. Scharf, Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, who were present during a large part of the operations, which extended, at intervals, over more than three weeks.

with Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour. The vault was closed, and at its entrance was placed a tablet inscribed, 'This vault was opened by the Dean, February 11, 1869.'

NOTE. — It appears from the Sacrist's accounts (under the head of *Solutiones pro Serenissimæ Dominiæ Margaretæ Comitissæ de Rychmonte missis a Festo Paschæ, anno Regni H. VII. xx.*), that £1 1s. 8d. was paid in that year to Thomas Gardiner *pro facturâ tumbæ Matris Domini Regis*. This must have been in Margaret's lifetime. Mr. Doyne Bell has furnished me with the item for the payment of the inscription and cross on Henry VII.'s coffin:— 'The Plomer's charge for crosse of lead and making of molds of scrypture about the cross, £6 13s. 4d.' (5) The appearance of bronze or 'cast brass' of the effigies of Henry VII. and his Queen, as well as of the Duke of Buckingham, seems to have been visible in 1672 (*Antiquarian Repertory*, iv. 565).

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